THE SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD

THE SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD was established by provincial statute in 1945, under the Archives Act (RSs 1978, Chap. A-26). The board is responsible for appraising, acquiring, preserving and making accessible documentary records in all media, from both official and private sources bearing on all aspects of the history of Saskatchewan, and facilitating the management of the records of government institutions. Two offices are maintained, affiliated with the University of Saskatchewan and the University of Regina, providing public access to a rich collection of archival materials for research and reference.

In addition, the Saskatchewan Archives Board has produced several authoritative works over the years on provincial history and a number of other references booklets and directories to assist historical research in the province. The Journal Saskatchewan History first appeared in 1948 and has earned a reputation for excellence, receiving awards in 1962 from the American Association for State and Local History and in 1979 from the Canadian Historical Association.

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A CHANGE IN EDITORS MARKS A CHANGE IN APPROACH

As readers were advised in the Spring 1998 issue, Dr. Steve Hewitt and Mr. Chris Kitzan resigned the position of editor of Saskatchewan History after the publication of that issue. We will miss their enthusiasm and fresh ideas, and their concern for the future of the journal. But we also understand their desire to move on to other challenges, and we wish them well in their respective careers.

ARCHIVES STRATEGIC PLANNING PROCESS FOCUSES ON RENEWAL

Following its appointment in September, 1997, the new Saskatchewan Archives Board decided to undertake a process of strategic planning, to review all aspects of the Archives' operations, and to identify constraints and possibilities for improvement.

The first stage of board planning was a board discussion in the fall of 1997 concerning past and present mandate, mission and values of the organization. Following from this discussion came the second stage, the appointment of a team of highly qualified consultants. Michael Swift and Associates were commissioned to undertake a thorough, professional study of eight aspects of Saskatchewan's mission and operations. In conducting their study, they consulted widely with external stakeholders, staff, management and the board.

The third stage was the release in October, 1998 of the Swift report, 188 pages of detailed critical analysis and constructive proposals for change. Prior to making key decisions, the Saskatchewan Archives Board presented the Swift report in its entirety to the Archives staff, stakeholders and the public for information and reaction.

The discussion of the Swift report will flow into the fourth stage of the Archives' renewal which will involve the setting of strategic priorities and timelines for implementation. This stage will occur over the coming months. During this time decisions will be made by the board, management and staff, based on the Swift report and the related discussions and reactions.

HIGHLIGHTS

The consultants concluded that the Saskatchewan Archives is a "jewel" for the Province of Saskatchewan, but a jewel that needs and deserves some polishing. They noted that staff of the archives are well qualified and experienced. They also observed that a high priority has been placed on service to clients, and that important new initiatives have been taken such as the Archives' new role in the 1990s in assisting the Government of Saskatchewan to manage its records.

The consultants observe, however, that positive accomplishments like these have concealed, and in fact have diverted energy and resources from other
essential archival functions. Other aspects of the Archives’ operations have — according to the consultants — been badly neglected in ways that now threaten the credibility and viability of the Archives, and by extension also threaten the record-keeping function of government, the ability to enforce Freedom of Information legislation, and, more generally, to preserve the public memory of the province. The consultants see the origins of this neglect primarily in long-term underfunding of the archives and in inadequate facilities, but also in questions of policies, organization, planning capability and lines of accountability.

According to the consultants, attention must be given to the legislative framework and mandate for the Archives, their internal policies and organization; accommodation; funding and staffing; removal of records backlog; information technology and outreach. These circumstances also contain important opportunities for the Archives to develop leadership in the introduction of information technology, handling of electronic information and of government records and in the provision of services to government, organizations and the archival community.

If you wish to know more detail about the consultant’s report, please contact the Provincial Archivist, Trevor Powell at (306) 787-4066, FAX (306) 787-1975, or by e-mail at: powell.archives@sk.sympatico.ca.

THE EDITOR’S COMMENTS

I am enthusiastic about taking over as the new editor Saskatchewan History, which is alive and well. We continue to publish solid articles and reviews of books about the history of the province. In this issue we have added several new features that we hope will encourage more interest and participation in the journal. Some of the changes we have made in this issue are in response to suggestions from our subscribers. We have a new cover and we have made changes in the pages of the journal that we hope will make it more appealing and easier to read.

In recent years some historians have been moving in new directions that are not only great fun but also giving us exciting new material. The articles by Patricia Williams and Winona Stevenson are examples of this work. Their articles are initial contributions on topics that we will likely continue to discuss in future issues. Both stress the importance of history grounded in the community. Stevenson, a Cree historian who understands the significance of the oral tradition for people of the First Nations, has used it very effectively in combination with documentary sources in her previous writing. She thereby brings fresh insights to the study of Saskatchewan history. Williams, a long-time community activist, has a strong commitment to history written by people in the community in addition to history written by academic historians. We hope that by inviting Stevenson and Williams to write contributions with regard to the Aboriginal Peoples and “History in the Community” we will encourage more contributions to Saskatchewan History from the Aboriginal Peoples and from people in the community at large who, as volunteers, put great effort into preserving our history. In doing so we are attempting to make the journal more inclusive. We would like feedback from readers and subscribers about this approach.

We also want to encourage more discussion about historical sources, both those that are well accepted by historians and less conventional sources. In this issue we begin these discussions by reproducing excerpts from a conventional documentary source, The Western Producer, and by focusing on two types of sources that are not used as often as written documents. Stevenson looks at oral sources, in the first of a series of articles, and I use a visual source in my article. The design on our new cover is problematic, if it is used uncritically, so my article was written to introduce the design and to give the background necessary to understand its message.

Constance Maguire’s article explores an area of history that has had little attention until recently. Up to the 1970s Canadian historians dwelt on public life. Since then social historians have focused on examining the lives of ordinary people and they have looked at private life. However it was not until the nineties that they ventured far into the history of sexuality. Maguire’s research, which grows out of this work on the history of sexuality, looks at the stigma of illegitimacy and the private lives of a Saskatchewan woman and her daughter.

We want to hear from our subscribers and our other readers, so please write to me about this issue of Saskatchewan History or other aspects of the province’s history that interest you.

Georgina M. Taylor, Editor

NOTES:
James Pitsula, Alvin Finkel, Dianne Moebis, Winona Stevenson, D’Arcy Hande, Nadine Small, and the staff of the Archives have all been very helpful to me as I edited this issue. I would like to thank them. I am also grateful to the members of the Saskatchewan History Advisory Board for their support.
OUR COVER AND OUR DRAWINGS

In recent years there has been a new appreciation of Art Nouveau, a turn-of-the-century art style, and therefore, in the hopes of making our cover as attractive as possible, I searched for an Art Nouveau design that is part of our history. I found a 1905 Department of the Interior booklet, which was designed to appeal to prospective settlers, that we could adapt for our cover. The design, the paintings and the colours on the front of the original booklet are reproduced as faithfully as possible on the front cover of this issue of Saskatchewan History. The Art Nouveau design on the back of the original booklet has been retained on our back cover but it has been adapted in order to make room for a large readable table of contents. For more information about the booklet see my article in this issue.

Dean Whitebear, a young artist from the Whitebear First Nation who is a student at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, drew three of the drawings in this issue. They appear above the contents on page one, above the articles on “Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Histories” and “History in the Community,” and on the inside back cover. Our goal in using both an Art Nouveau design and Whitebear’s drawings is to balance images from the cultural traditions of the Aboriginal Peoples and the heritage of the newcomers who began to arrive in Saskatchewan in large numbers at the turn-of-the-century.

Georgina M. Taylor, Editor

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND COMMENTS

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:
Regarding your request for subscribers of Saskatchewan History journal who have been original and continuous recipients since Vol., 1 No. 1, to identify themselves... I have been a continuous subscriber since that date and issue. Also, I have all the copies up to 1995 hard bound.... Have a great 50th ANNIVERSARY!"

Anthony J. Hruska, Gerald, Saskatchewan

“I am an original subscriber to Saskatchewan History from Vol. 1, #1. Over the past 50 years I have enjoyed reading every issue. Thanks a million.... I have every issue on hand.”

E.F. Johnson, Yorkton, Saskatchewan

“I am not an ‘original’ subscriber but I have been with you since the early fifties, having first seen the magazine at Douglas Library, Queen’s University, at summer school of 1950. I first subscribed not long after that. First let me say that there has to be a Saskatchewan History. No other publication fills that niche. A collection of Saskatchewan History — even incomplete like mine — is now a precious library of Saskatchewan history....

[There is] a crisis in Canadian history generally. I understand that Saskatchewan and Alberta are two of the provinces which do not require a Canadian history course of their high school students wishing to matriculate. Educators seem to have been lured down the path of cybernetics by advertisements of the great multi-nationals. School systems will buy and pay for computers but won’t buy books or subscriptions to history journals. They will learn too late that they have been swept off their feet by media hype. Their citizens will probably turn out to be excellent consumers but poorly-equipped citizens.”

Allen Ronaghan, Islay, Alberta

“This magazine has only recently come to my attention via the Internet, and as my grandfather’s brother left Ontario, subsequently living and working in Saskatchewan most of his life, I am keenly interested in your provincial history.”

W.H. Carmichael, North Bay, Ontario

COMMENTS AND NOTES:

“Saskatchewan History is the best provincial history journal in Canada.”

John Herd Thompson, Duke University

“Once the colonization of Canada was well underway... the ‘sod-hut memoir’ proliferated. At its worst, this form was tedious and predictable, bogged down in details of pioneer life. At its best it helped a pioneer society take imaginative possession of its own landscape and provided the country with a myth of struggle and progress to justify its existence.”


“Tommy [Douglas] ran for the first time in the provincial election of 1934 in the Weyburn riding. He was a candidate for the Farmer-Labour Party. Dr. Eaglesham won. Afterwards Tommy said, ‘Anybody who hasn’t any more friends than I have in this town should carry two guns.’”

SASKATCHEWAN'S MOST INFLUENTIAL PERSON

by Will Chabun

When I first read that Saskatchewan History wanted to know, “Who is the most influential person in the last 50 years of Saskatchewan history?”, I wrote, a little flippantly, that it inevitably would be Tommy Douglas; the real competition would be in how his candidacy was advanced. “It’s very simple. All the lefties in this politics-mad province say Douglas saved the province from financial and social ruin, and bequeathed us medicare,” I wrote, impulsively. “Meantime, right-wingers say Douglas saved us from Alberta-style prosperity and stuck us with a doomed medicare plan. (Voila! 50 years of Saskatchewan political history is explained in 37 words.)”

Three weeks later, still preoccupied by this question, I came back to what I’d written, and concluded it still “worked.” In the interim, I had pondered that word “influential.” Was there somebody else who left a great mark on this province, perhaps an unsung agricultural visionary or engineer who’d come up with a piece of machinery that changed the North American prairies. What might Saskatchewan have been like had Douglas left provincial politics in, say, 1952 or 1956? Am I being caught up in this province’s “Tommy Douglas Cult”? Inescapably, I was forced back to the conclusion that no other historical figure rivals Douglas, premier of this province from 1944 to 1961.

To deal with his most obvious legacy, he reshaped the very nature of Saskatchewan politics. Before his government’s first election, the rule of thumb was that Saskatchewan politics consisted of the Liberals and one other party — Conservative, Progressive or CCF. Douglas’s skill and personality helped elect his CCF in five consecutive provincial elections. Our politics thereafter consisted of Douglas’s CCF-NDP, and “one other party,” which inevitably would criticize the collectivist and “state capitalist” bent of Douglas and his political descendants as having sapped the entrepreneurial energy of Saskatchewan.

That Douglas’s legacy was largely, but not universally, appreciated was pointed out forcefully to me when I covered a 1987 lecture on privatization. During question period, an elderly man rose and in a voice cracking with emotion reminded those present that Saskatchewan then had 24 Crown corporations — and only two corporations listed on the stock exchanges. To borrow a phrase applied to Pierre Trudeau, Douglas “haunts us still.”

Other politicians — W.A.C. Bennett, for example — have similarly redefined domestic politics. But Douglas’s historical legacy has more dimensions, most obviously the universal medicare insurance system that began moving toward operation during his last term as premier, and was duplicated all over Canada. A parallel “single-payer” system recently was the subject of serious public policy debate in the United States. Has any other Canadian policy innovation made it so high on America’s public agenda? No.

With surprising frequency, I stumble over other “policy mementos” of Douglas. A friend drops on my desk a mini-history of the University of Regina, which owes its existence to the decision of Douglas’s government in the late 1950s to create a second Saskatchewan university from Regina College. A performance by the Regina Symphony acknowledges the support of the Saskatchewan Arts Board, a pioneering cultural agency set up by Douglas’s government in 1947-48. The mail brings a draft chapter from Max Macdonald’s new history of the South Saskatchewan River Project, of which Douglas and federal agriculture minister James Gardiner could fairly be called the godparents. Max lists off the agricultural and economic benefits, then adds a consultant’s analysis of this project: “one of the smartest things that Saskatchewan ever did.”

Without downplaying Douglas’s career as federal NDP leader, I submit that his other important legacy is a spiritual one. His name has become a synonym for clear-eyed, common-sense compassion — so much so that the question of which party could claim his moral legacy set off a minor dispute during the 1997 federal election campaign. There are many books about him,

Editor’s Note: An experienced outside judge chose Will Chabun’s article as the best of three entries in a contest announced by the former editors in the last issue of Saskatchewan History. The opinions are those of the author.
of course. And when I searched for his name on the World-Wide Web, it turned up, approvingly, in sites ranging from a New Brunswick government page discussing Medicare to a lengthy article in an alternative newspaper from the San Francisco Bay area.

When Maclean's last summer prepared a list of, "The 100 Most Important Canadians in History," Douglas was the only premier on it. Tory godfather Dalton Camp worked a reference to Douglas and his debating skill into his September 2nd column on the Conservative leadership race. Amazing, I thought: 12 years after Douglas died and 37 years after he resigned as premier, he still is being cited as an historical touchstone. Camp's column, incidentally, appears in The Toronto Star, one of whose reporters stumbled onto a meeting in Havana earlier this year: Cuba, it seems wasn't to adopt Saskatchewan's mix of state-owned corporations, co-operatives and private enterprise as a model for its own economic development. Has any other Canadian premier's economic model been eyed by a foreign government? Again, no.

The Ottawa Citizen's Internet archives turns up nine references to him. Some are obscure, but another notes the possibility of a feature film on Douglas's life; this in addition to a recent documentary on his life on History TV.

Has any other province, especially a small one, produced a politician so widely remembered, so affectionately, by so many people? The answer is obvious: no.

Sometimes, you know, it is as if Tommy Douglas is still alive.

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A Documentary Source: 'The Producer' in 1927

Introduced and selected by Georgina M. Taylor

Newspapers, such as The Western Producer, are one of the conventional documentary sources used frequently by historians. 'The Producer,' as its readers referred to The Western Producer, was established in Saskatoon in 1923. Offering an alternative to the Liberal dominated press, it was to become a very influential publication. In the late twenties it was the liveliest farm paper in Canada. Its informative, witty coverage of international, national, and provincial news was read and enjoyed by thousands of readers in the province and beyond.

The quotations from 'The Producer' in this issue of Saskatchewan History give some indication of the interests of farm people and the expansive mood they were in during 1927. Over 80% of the population lived in the rural areas of Saskatchewan, then the third most populous province in Canada. Many farm people on the prairies were optimistic in 1927, in part, because of their belief in the potential of producer co-operatives, such as the Wheat Pool and the Egg and Poultry Pool, to improve their lives.

"NEARLY $18,000,000 FOR SASK. POOL MEMBERS — CHEQUES FOR INTERIM PAYMENT ARE MAILED MARCH 9."

The Western Producer, 10 March 1927

"All is fair in love, war, and Regina! Regina is the capital of Saskatchewan. The week after the next it will be the capital of the West. The annual exhibition is being held in Regina."

The Western Producer, 21 July 1927

"THE UNHAPPY MAN — I met a man from British Columbia. British Columbians are like Esquimaux and musicians: they have the narrow view point: nice people, many of them, but difficult folk, knowing little of the outside world, shut in — as they are — by their mountains and their oceans. It was during fair week that I met this man.... 'It must be terrible to live on the prairies' said my friend.... So I said to him 'We will walk up the street together, you and I, and I will give you a cigar for every person we meet who registers misery on his countenance.' We walked up and down the street in and amongst the happy people.... This is because farming is becoming successful.... That is where The Western Producer comes in. It is the cement that holds together the things that are making Saskatchewan such a good place to live in that it arouses the envy of every British Columbian. The Producer is two dollars a year."

The Western Producer, 11 August 1927

.... to be continued on page 23
Kate Simpson Hayes, Agnes Agatha Hammell, and “the Slur of Illegitimacy”

by Constance A. Maguire

In April 1925 Agnes Hammell gave up her identity as Sister Marie Raphael of the Congregación de Notre Dame de Sion and left the convent with the intention of locating her birth parents. Her determined quest, blocked by denial, false leads, and vague hints at the truth, eventually led to Nicholas Flood Davin and Kate Simpson Hayes, and to the belief that she was their daughter, their second child born out of wedlock. Frustration did not end for Agnes with the location of her family, for she then was denied the recognition and acknowledgment she craved. There was no doubt that Davin was her father, but Hayes would not publicly admit to being her mother. United by their unmentionable bond, these two women initially shared a warm and affectionate relationship, but it later evolved into one characterized by rancour and mutual suspicion. They had not been able to overcome what Agnes later referred to as “the slur of illegitimacy.”

In the mid-1880s Kate Simpson Hayes had bravely broken with convention when she fled an abusive marriage and began an independent life with her two young children, Burke and Elaine, in the small town of Regina. Shortly afterwards, Hayes became romantically involved with Nicholas Flood Davin in a liaison that lasted nine years. Davin published the town’s newspaper, The Leader, and later was also a Member of Parliament. Hayes, a Catholic, steadfastly opposed divorce and this meant that she could not marry her lover, despite the fact that they had two children. Although their relationship was not a secret, the couple lived apart, and the children were placed in private care. Davin did eventually marry, and took their son, Henry Arthur, to live with him as a “nephew.” His wife agreed to have her husband’s daughter in their home as well, but four-year-old Agnes could not be found. Kate Hayes then entrusted care of her youngest daughter, Agnes, to Father John Sinnett, who took the child into his family and promised not to divulge the truth of her birth. Agnes grew up believing that she was Father Sinnett’s niece, and that Kate Hayes was merely a family friend.

Marital separation, a long-standing romantic liaison, and the birth of two children outside marriage all violated the rigid Victorian morality of late nineteenth-century Canada. And yet, despite this, Hayes became a well-received, popular author and journalist, penning not only short stories, poems, and plays, but also feature articles and innumerable newspaper columns. She was also a founding member of the Canadian Women’s Press Club, a leading professional organization. This suggests that whatever the community knew, or suspected, was tolerated as long as an appearance of propriety was maintained. Kate Hayes’s journalism, written in a colourful witty style, revealed her conservative social views. Although these conservative beliefs included the idealization of marriage and motherhood, they were in contradiction with the way Hayes chose to conduct her private life. They fit well with society’s expectations for convention, and made it easier for her writing to be accepted. However, there was no indication in any of her writing that she fashioned her words to meet the expectations of her editors, or anyone else. The thoughts and ideas she expressed were clearly her own. In short, Hayes believed in a public-private dichotomy with regard to motherhood and sexuality, which was enforced by Victorian morality. According to Ellen Ross and Rayna Rapp who have examined sex as a social construct, in North America, Britain, and Europe during the mid- to late-nineteenth century the definition of “sexual outcasts” hardened and “sexual behaviour

Constance A. Maguire recently graduated with an M.A. in History from the University of Regina. Her thesis examines convention and contradiction in the life and ideas of Kate Simpson Hayes. She is a member of the Board of Directors of Heritage Regina.

THE SLUR OF ILLEGITIMACY • FALL 1998
came under increasing state and cultural surveillance.¹⁵ In Canada during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries a moral reform movement developed and initiated a drive for 'social purity' that further encouraged the surveillance of sexual behaviour.⁶ This pushed Kate Hayes, whose private conduct did not conform to the conventional standards of the time, into a life filled with contradiction.⁷ Hayes espoused a sentimental version of motherhood in public, but in private her actions contradicted this idealized image.

In their historical study of Canadian women, Alison Prentice and others note that women in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Canada were commonly "seen in terms of their destinies as wives and mothers," and that they experienced "an intensification in the role of motherhood."⁸ Kate Simpson Hayes wrote during this period. Throughout her written work, not only in her newspaper column, but in her fictional and dramatic writing as well, she enthusiastically promoted the belief that the future of Canada depended upon the nation's wives and mothers. Comments such as, "what the future will give us is largely dependent upon the mothers of to-day... and upon the influence of wife and home rests the entire future of humanity," are representative of her thoughts on the subject.⁹ This view assigned mothers the daunting task of almost single-handedly shaping and moulding future citizens, and, indirectly, the nation itself. However, this also made it possible to blame mothers for almost any, or all, of society's ills. Few women could live up to these unrealistic expectations, and those who could not were susceptible to feelings of failure and inadequacy, as well as being targets for criticism.

Among mothers who were the most vulnerable to criticism were those, such as Kate Simpson Hayes, who had borne children outside marriage. Barbara Katz Rothman, when writing about adoption, observes that mothers who have given birth to children outside marriage have often suffered from "the stigma of inappropriate, 'illegitimate' fertility," in addition to the shame and secrecy.¹⁰ Furthermore, as Linda Gordon points out in her historical study of families and violence, a mother who kept an illegitimate baby ran the risk of being seen as failing "to provide good mothering because of her immorality."¹¹ Today it is quite common for unmarried women to keep their infants, but in the 1890s these mothers and their children remained on the outer margins, for they did not fit the model of the ideal, traditional family. In fact, this was the case until well into the twentieth century. Historian Andrée Lévesque and journalist Anne Petrie both argue that the stigma of illegitimacy often led women who were pregnant out of wedlock to hide their pregnancies and to relinquish their babies.¹² The taint of illegitimacy and disgrace was bound to affect the bond between mother and child. As an adult, Agnes yearned for an open, unconditional relationship, but Kate Hayes simply could not bring herself to meet this need. Hayes also expected Agnes to realize that her mother had done the best she could, and willingly keep silent. Agnes was filled with resentment and hostility over what she saw as continued rejection. Some fifty years later, in the late 1970s, an elderly Agnes remarked that one reason her mother placed her with the nuns was "the embarrassment of unwed motherhood." Another reason she gave was financial, that her mother "could not afford" to keep her two youngest offspring.¹³ This paper argues that the stigma of illegitimacy not only pushed Kate Simpson Hayes into hiding the birth of her illegitimate children, it also later prevented her from forming an enduring, intimate bond with Agnes, the daughter she had borne out of wedlock.

Because of the stigma of illegitimacy, documentation about the bond between Agnes (Hammell) Robinson and Kate Simpson Hayes is fragmentary. The Saskatchewan Archives Board holds the papers of both Agnes (Hammell) Robinson and Kate Simpson Hayes.¹⁴ With Hayes's almost frantic desire for secrecy, it is not surprising that her papers do not mention her two younger children, but do contain numerous photos and affectionate references to Hayes's two older offspring. What emerges is the image of Kate Hayes as she wished to be seen, a courageous, determined, talented, witty woman. It is Robinson's papers which are most revealing. Among the many letters are those, beginning in 1916, which follow the efforts of her fellow nuns to persuade Agnes to remain in the Convent. Of special interest are letters from Kate Simpson Hayes, written between 1925 and 1928, which initially offered Agnes encouragement, but are later tinged with anger and bitterness. A more vulnerable Hayes emerges from these pages, one who is occasionally tired, anxious and short-tempered. There are also letters from Father J. Simnett, attempting to convince Agnes to return to the Sisterhood, repeatedly denying any knowledge of her mother's identity, and also denying any impropriety while Agnes was in his care. During the 1970s Agnes corresponded with historian C. B. Koester, who was then writing a biography of Nicholas Flood Davin. These letters show Agnes to be a fiercely independent elderly widow with limited resources, and make it clear that her resentment toward her mother had not abated.
Robinson's papers are peppered throughout with marginal comments she made herself. These are undated and were most likely added, either when she loaned some of her papers to Koester for use in his biographical research, or when she was preparing to donate them to the Saskatchewan Archives Board during 1979-1981. By this time Agnes was in her late eighties, and these comments reflect her thinking at that time, and not at the time the events occurred.

KATE SIMPSON HAYES’S EARLY LIFE

Catherine Hayes learned from personal experience at an early age that it was possible for women to manage without dependence on masculine support. Catherine (Kate) was twelve years old when her father was killed by a falling tree at a lumber camp in Wisconsin in the spring of 1869. Until the previous year the Hayes family, consisting of Patrick Hayes, his wife Anna, and their three daughters, had lived in Dalhousie, New Brunswick, where Patrick Hayes operated a general store on Brunswick Street. However, unpaid debts and outstanding promissory notes eventually led to charges of fraud against Hayes. Foreclosure followed, and the business was sold at public auction in April 1867. Then, in the fall of 1868, at the age of fifty-three, Patrick Hayes left his wife and two youngest daughters in New Brunswick, and went to work in Wisconsin where he died several months later. The Hayes’s eldest daughter, Annie, accompanied her father to the United States. For a while after their father’s untimely death, Kate and her older sister Winifred continued to live in New Brunswick with their widowed mother. Winifred was nineteen, a newly-licensed teacher, and likely the sole source of financial support for her mother and sister. Initially teaching in Dalhousie, Winifred then taught in Fredericton, and also in Saint Stephen. At some point, both sisters graduated from the Normal School in Fredericton, with Kate also earning a second-class certificate in music.

Details are scarce as to exactly when they relocated, or why, but before too long all four Hayes women were living in Western Canada. In February of 1879, Kate Hayes was teaching at a private school in Prince Arthur’s Landing, Ontario, and by fall of that year was employed as a governess in Prince Albert, North West Territories. Her sister Annie had married, and by 1881 was living in Winnipeg with her husband and three children. During the 1880s, Winifred taught in Regina for a time before becoming a school principal in Birtle, Manitoba. It is not clear when Anna Hayes first arrived in the West, but over the years she continued to live at one time or another with each of her daughters, and the four women remained close. Kate Hayes fondly mentioned her mother in her correspondence, and after her mother’s death remarked that, “every day I go down to Ross Bay cemetery where my dear mother sleeps, and there I say my prayers and have a little cry.”

Another valuable source is the manuscript of an unpublished, autobiographical novel written in 1935 by Agnes (Hammell) Robinson, in which she tells the story of her life from early childhood until the fateful meeting with her mother in 1925. Although the sincerity of the author is undeniable, much of what she describes remains uncorroborated. For instance, during her childhood, while in Father Sinnett’s care, Agnes alleges that she was sexually abused and molested by both the cleric and his nephew. It is impossible to state with certainty what happened. A local history of the Irish Colony at Sinnett, Saskatchewan, a community colonized by the priest, reveals that he was held in high regard. Such accounts are expected to be laudatory, but of particular note are quotations following the entry for J.C. Sinnett in Henry Morgan’s The Canadian Men and Women of the Time. N.F. Davin referred to “a delightful lecturer,” while K.S. Hayes offered praise for the “most popular Roman Catholic cleric in the whole North-West.” If what Agnes claimed was true, such “Jekyll and Hyde” behaviour on Sinnett’s part would have made it all the more difficult for her to be believed. This would partially account for the anger and hostility Agnes later exhibited towards both Kate Hayes and Father Sinnett.
On a rainy Tuesday evening in June 1882, in Prince Albert, Kate Ethel Hayes married Charles Bowman Simpson. The ceremony took place at the home of close friends, the McFaddens, and was conducted by the Methodist missionary, Reverend Arthur Whiteside. The Simpsons were a prominent family in Bowmanville, Ontario, and Charles was the eldest son of John Simpson, a merchant, banker, and senator. A year prior to his marriage Charles Simpson had been living in Durham County, Ontario, working as a miller, but it is not known when he arrived in the North West Territories, or how he earned his living. After their marriage, Charles and Kate Simpson continued to reside in Prince Albert, in an area called Lower Flat. Within a year their son, Burke, was born, and two years later Kate gave birth to a daughter, Elaine, or Bonnie as she was often called. However, by this time there were serious problems in the Simpson marriage, for Charles apparently was drunk much of the time, and also was violent.

Even though Kate Hayes was Roman Catholic, and a firm believer in the permanence of marriage, she courageously decided to remove herself and her children from the unhealthy atmosphere of their home. Her views on the subject are clearly stated in one of her newspaper columns, written fifteen years later.

Under strong provocation ... a woman may leave the shelter of her husband's home. She does so knowing that upon her will rest the onus of the fling of the tongue ... knowing that her judgment is already spoken, her sentence fixed ... but where the defence of life, or her children's future is hanging in the balance, the average woman pauses not to think of consequences of a personal kind.... It isn't the altogether desperate wife that picks up her belongings and faces the world with its blighting breath, nor is it the depraved woman. It is she that has well considered the cost of such a step and who shoulders the consequences be they what they may.

Hayes was well aware that she would be easy prey for gossip and subject to reproach, but she was prepared to face the world, and willing to assume sole financial responsibility for herself and her two young children. Her relationship with the Simpson family remained amicable, which indicates that they were supportive of her decision to leave. According to H.J. Morgan, Charles and Kate Simpson obtained a legal separation in 1889. After this, and before the birth of her third child, Kate became known as Mrs. Simpson Hayes, or simply Mrs. Hayes. In the census of 1891, Kate Hayes claims to be a widow, living in Regina with her two children and widowed mother. However, Charles Simpson was very much alive, farming in Whitby Township, Ontario, and declaring himself "unmarried." Charles Bowman Simpson died in Toronto on 7 June 1931. He is buried in the Simpson family plot in Bowmanville, with no headstone to mark his grave.

Divorce was not a realistic option for many Canadians in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. As James Snell has observed, divorce in Canada in all but three provinces could be obtained only by act of the Dominion Parliament.... [The] process was lengthy (over a year) and expensive (at least $1,000), and presented parliamentarians with serious philosophical and moral problems.

The government was eager to portray Canada as a moral nation, and purposely made divorce difficult to obtain, in direct contrast to the United States where legislation was more lenient. Even if they could afford it, few Canadians would be willing to present their intimate lives as a Private Bill in the House of Commons. Legal historian Constance Backhouse argues that "divorced persons were seen as aberrations ... and great social stigma marked those whose marriages had been terminated by law." It was just simpler, as many couples did, to agree to live apart.

LIFE AND ROMANCE IN REGINA

The timing is not certain, but it was probably early in the spring of 1886 that twenty-nine-year-old Kate Simpson arrived in Regina. With two small children to care for, she needed work, and before long was employed as manager of the millinery department in the A. Sheppard & Son department store. By October of 1886 she was preparing to open her own business, The Bazaar, which handled millinery and ladies' "fancy goods," as well as children's items, and collars, hosiery, and ties for gentlemen. Within a year, she had added "a Dress and Mantle Making Department," with a promise of prompt service. The success of her Regina store led Mrs. Simpson to open a branch in Birtle, Manitoba. However, by January 1888 she was "selling off her entire stock ... at great reductions," and the final clearance was held in July. After closing The Bazaar, Kate Simpson wrote articles and poems for the newspaper, The Leader, on an irregular basis, and then, in August 1890, she began work as a clerk with the Government of the North West Territories. She was placed in charge of the legislative library, a
position she retained until 1898. Until her departure for Winnipeg, and the pages of the *Manitoba Free Press* in October 1900, Kate Hayes worked as a clerk for the Territorial Secretary and the Department of Agriculture.\(^{45}\) She also continued to write in her spare time.

There is little indication of how Kate Hayes managed to balance child care with her working hours. It is assumed that her mother helped, at least part of the time. In one instance, a local newspaper reported that “Mrs. Hayes, mother of Mrs. G. Bowman Simpson” had gone to Winnipeg to spend the winter, and the following April when Mrs. Hayes returned, it was noted that she was accompanied by “her little granddaughter, Bonnie Simpson.”\(^{46}\) In 1889, Anna Hayes purchased a house at 1665 Osler Street, where she lived along with Kate, Burke, and Bonnie for the next two years. After this property was sold in 1891, the four of them moved to a house that Kate Hayes bought at 1844 Broad Street.\(^{47}\)

Soon after Kate Simpson moved to Regina, she met Nicholas Flood Davin, the proprietor and publisher of *The Leader*. Davin had been born in 1840 in Kilfinane, Ireland. His father, a doctor, died when Nicholas was still a boy. A kind relative sent the young Davin to Queen’s College, Cork, from where he was called to the English Bar in 1868. Coming to Canada in 1872, he worked as a barrister and journalist. He arrived in Regina in October 1882, and by 1 March 1883 had published the first edition of his Conservative newspaper, *The Leader*. In addition, Nicholas Davin served as the Member of Parliament for Assiniboia West from 1887 until 1900.\(^{48}\) Later, after more than a decade as a prominent public figure, it would prove difficult for Davin to adjust to electoral defeat and life on the periphery. Apparently overwhelmed by despondency and frustration, Nicholas Davin committed suicide in October 1901. As Kate Simpson Hayes later confided to Davin’s good friend, Henry Morgan, “Broken pride, I think, was what killed him.”\(^{49}\)

During the 1880s both Nicholas Flood Davin and Kate Simpson were active participants in the social and cultural life of Regina. For a time, Kate was the organist at St. Mary’s Roman Catholic Church.\(^{50}\) Nicholas Davin and Kate Simpson attended many of the same social events, such as formal dances at Government House, and Entertainment Evenings sponsored and promoted by the North West Mounted Police. When Mrs. Simpson recited verses at the Music and Literary Society, Mr. Davin was also present with recitations of his own. As well, both were active participants in the Penny Readings Association during winter months.

An attractive woman separated from her husband and successfully operating her own business would have been an intriguing figure in a small town like Regina. A romantic affair soon developed between Simpson and Davin. At forty-six, Davin was sixteen years Kate’s senior, and “a well set-up man, just under six feet in height.”\(^{51}\) Contemporary descriptions offer hints as to why they were attracted to one another. Davin stood out, “the power of his pale grey eyes,” which “seemed to send out sparks that made magnetic connections.”\(^{52}\) Kate Hayes was “a handsome, talented woman,” with “sparkling wit.”\(^{53}\) The mutual attraction between the couple is understandable.

Despite their long-standing intimate relationship, Kate Simpson Hayes and Nicholas Flood Davin did not marry. To Hayes, possibly for religious reasons, divorce was not an alternative, and as she remarked, the “splendid social barrier” was too great an obstacle. She was concerned, not only for herself, but also for Davin, whose public position made him especially vulnerable to community opinion. Hayes explained this to Henry Morgan after Davin’s death, obviously in reply to the suggestion that she and Davin should have married.
If he had married “the right woman” whoever she might be, “things” might have been different. The person you name was impossible. Married already — tied to a log — held down by a stone — and the splendid social barrier higher than Heaven, hotter than — the Other place — (the hurdle a man can rarely take without a tumble). Oho [sic], don’t mention what might have been.\(^{54}\)

She then touched on the close understanding shared by the two lovers.

I think I knew him better than anyone else. Understood him better and loved him better ... and I saw little glimpses of his mind which opened to — I was going to write “few” but think I may say none.\(^{55}\)

Nicholas Davin and Kate Simpson Hayes had two children, a son, Henry Arthur, and a daughter, Agnes Agatha. Details regarding the children’s early lives are clouded by confusion and inconsistency. Military records state that Henry Arthur Davin was born in Vancouver on 18 October 1889.\(^{56}\) However, Kate Hayes was in North Dakota from the middle of June until the end of October 1889. This four-month absence is evidenced by the articles she regularly sent to The Leader on fashion trends, musical performances, picnics, fairs, and harvest conditions. It is quite possible that she could have had a child during this time, and the suggestion that their son Henry Arthur was born in the United States seems much more plausible.\(^{57}\) Hayes continued to be adamant about not divorcing, and any hopes Davin may have had for a life together as a family were not realised. The infant boy was placed in private care. Confusion also surrounds the birth and early life of their daughter. It is not clear where Agnes was born, but her birth date is given as either 11 November 1891 or 1 January 1892. The latter seems more probable, for The Leader of 3 November 1891 reports that “Mrs. W.K. Burk of Bowmanville, Ont., aunt of Master Burk Simpson, visited last week at Mrs. K. Hayes.”\(^{58}\) It is doubtful, two weeks before giving birth to Davin’s child, that Kate Hayes would be entertaining her in-laws. Agnes also asserts that she was born two months prematurely, with her birth expected in March.\(^{59}\) It is much easier to conceal a five-month pregnancy than one almost at term.

Davin placed the frail baby girl in the care of a nurse. After this incompetent woman threatened to expose the existence of the two children unless she was paid to be silent, alternative arrangements were hurriedly made. It was then decided to place Agnes in the care of the Roman Catholic orphanage in St. Boniface, Manitoba, where she could receive the special care she required. As Marta Danylewycz notes in her study of women’s religious communities, the Church offered a source of safe, reliable child care, and those who “entrusted their offspring to the care of religious women ... acknowledged the Church’s mothering role.”\(^{60}\) The nuns were so concerned about Agnes’s weakened state that, risking the disapproval of Davin, who was a Presbyterian, they secretly baptized her as a Catholic, altering names and dates to avoid discovery.\(^{61}\) While this was taking place, from the end of July 1892 until well into August, Kate Simpson Hayes was in Winnipeg, within easy reach of St. Boniface. According to The Leader, she was on vacation, in addition to covering the Winnipeg Industrial Exhibition.\(^{62}\) The baby girl was now safe, and the nuns’ discretion was absolute.

It is not clear what effect the birth of their two children had on the relationship between Kate Hayes and Nicholas Davin. By this time Davin was over fifty, and Hayes was thirty-six. They obviously cared deeply for each other, and they remained close, for a while, at least. By the spring of 1895 the relationship had cooled. The reason for this remains a mystery, but Hayes later confided to Henry Morgan that, “since April 1895 the friendship that existed between us was strained — since November 1895 the silence of speech has been unbroken.”\(^{63}\) In another instance she mentions their “nine long, never-to-be-forgotten years” and then adds, “I cannot explain it — he drifted away on a sort of sea of tempest and storm.”\(^{64}\) It is not clear whether it came as a surprise to Kate Hayes or not, but during the summer of 1895 Nicholas Flood Davin was married to Eliza Reid of Ottawa, Ontario.

Eliza Davin agreed to welcome both of her husband’s children into their household, and shortly thereafter Mr. Davin’s six-year-old “nephew” was living with them.\(^{65}\) However, his daughter could not be found. When Nicholas Davin and his wife went to the orphanage to claim her, Agnes had disappeared. The efforts of a private detective also proved futile. According to Agnes (Hammell) Robinson, in 1896 when she was four years old, she was hidden in a storage room “stuffed between 2 trunks” when Davin and this detective were searching for her.\(^{66}\) Having been warned by the nuns of Nicholas Davin’s attempts to collect the little girl, Kate Hayes placed Agnes in the care of a trusted friend, Father John Chester Sinnett, and his widowed sister, Mrs. Cunningham, who lived in Portage la Prairie. According to Agnes, Hayes sent monthly cheques to the priest for her youngest daughter’s care.\(^{67}\)
AGNES HAMMELL’S QUEST

Since Father Sinnett had been the priest at St. Mary’s parish in Regina from April 1894 to December 1895, he was well acquainted with both Nicholas Flood Davin and Kate Hayes. Davin was Presbyterian, so perhaps Kate Hayes was reluctant to have two of her children raised as Protestants, and raised by a “rival” as well. She undoubtedly felt that with Father Sinnett, Agnes would receive good care in addition to being raised as a Catholic. Thus, Agnes grew up believing she was Mrs. Cunningham’s daughter. As Sinnett later told her, “I took you as a child — Mamma and I determined to raise you as her child.” During the time that her youngest daughter was in Portage la Prairie, Kate Hayes’s occasional visits to the town are noted by the Regina press. For instance, in late December 1896 Hayes was in Portage la Prairie for at least a week, while “she assisted at the production of a New Year’s dramatic entertainment in aid of St. Cuthbert’s Church.” Father Sinnett was transferred to Montreal at the end of September 1897. It is surely no coincidence that Kate Hayes spent much of that September in Winnipeg and Portage la Prairie. Furthermore, once Father Sinnett was transferred from the region, no further visits to the town are mentioned.

In her autobiographical manuscript, Agnes related how “Aunt Fahey” [Kate Hayes] regularly sent gifts for birthdays and at Christmas, and also describes her enjoyment at the occasional visits by “Aunt Fahey” to Portage la Prairie. During these times, Agnes and “Aunt Fahey” shared the same room, with Agnes expressing delight at the guest’s dainty lingerie, so completely different from that of the rougher and older Mrs. Cunningham with whom she usually slept. The youngster was also charmed by “Aunt Fahey’s” fairy tales. In her letters, Kate Hayes referred to these shared moments when she asked that Agnes “not quite forget the old woman who told you ‘Cinderella’!”

Thirty years later, in 1925, Agnes was a nun with the Congregation de Notre Dame de Sion, and, as Sister Marie Raphael, was teaching in Kansas City. Given the secrecy and intrigue surrounding Agnes’s life to that date, details are not clear. It was likely in 1911 that she graduated from high school in Prince Albert and travelled to Paris to join the Sisters of Sion, a religious order specializing in teaching and education. Following acceptance into the Sisterhood, Sister Marie Raphael (Agnes) spent several months with the Order in Kansas City. She then studied at the provincial Normal School in Saskatoon from September to December 1914. She is noted to be teaching at the Convent of Our Lady of Sion in Prince Albert in 1917 and 1918, and then is principal at the High School of Our Lady of Sion in Moose Jaw in 1920. After this, Sister Marie Raphael returned to Kansas City, where

Catherine Simpson Hayes, in the back row, while a civil service librarian, with other civil servants in the North-West Territories in 1895. She has a copy of the Toronto Globe under her arm. Lieutenant Governor Mackintosh is in the front row wearing a top hat.
she remained until 1925.

While young Agnes was travelling to Paris to join the Sisterhood, her brother Arthur was attempting to locate his sister. Quite by chance, after discovering some papers and photos in a trunk, Arthur learned that he had a sister, and set out to find her. The trail led him to the Convent at St. Boniface. Fourteen years later, upon hearing of her brother's efforts, Agnes wrote to the nuns who had spoken with him. She received the following reply:

To dear little Agatha of old. My dear girl ... I happened to meet the young man accidentally [sic] he was looking for an English speaking Sister.... As we were talking Sister Flore passed and Said Mon Dieu Comme ce jeune homme ressemble a Agatha.... He said he found your name amongst some papers and he was determined to find you out.... After a long talk I sent him to Rev. Father Cherrier as I had heard that a little girl had been placed with an English speaking family. The boy appeared to me to be quite a refined appearance. I never heard of him after but I always prayed for him."

Agnes also received a letter from Sister Flore, expressing regret that she could not be more informative. "Before asking me anything Arthur showed these photos and I said Oh my little Agatha.... Agnes dear I never knew where you were at the time, because believe me I would of told him." Arthur then found Father Sinnett, who later told Agnes of his advice to her brother. "When I told him you were alive and happy — but to see you might disturb your religious life — he was perfectly satisfied — gave his promise not to ask to see you and he kept his word." Sinnett told Agnes emphatically, on three separate occasions, that this was the case. Robinson insists that she was deliberately sent to Paris by Father Sinnett to avoid being discovered by her brother, but the cleric resolutely denied this, declaring, "it was your own choice." Also, according to Sinnett, Arthur had "broken with" his stepmother, and expressed no curiosity regarding the identity of his birth mother. Agnes and Arthur did not meet. Five years later, in June 1916, Lieutenant Henry Arthur Davin was killed in battle in Belgium when a bullet pierced his heart. The young man had kept his promise, and had made no further attempts to locate his lost sibling. In his will, Arthur left his money and personal belongings to Father John C. Sinnett.

It was also by accident that Agnes, while in her teens, found some papers which revealed that she was not Father Sinnett's niece. Rumours arose regarding her uncertain parentage, and Agnes feared she was illegitimate. It was this enduring fear, and her will to discover the truth, that eventually led Agnes to leave the Sisterhood. Despite the nuns' repeated attempts to convince her otherwise, Agnes left Kansas City and her sheltered life on 2 April 1925. She soon found a teaching position in Winnipeg. Agnes was thirty-three years old, not much older than Kate Hayes when she decided to leave her marriage.

Not surprisingly, both Father Sinnett and Kate Hayes were astonished by Agnes's news. The priest wrote, "My dear niece.... All was a real surprise to me — never thought of the like — not one word from anyone to prepare me." Sinnett admitted that Nicholas Davin was Agnes's father, but would not disclose the identity of her mother. A letter captioned "burn when read," showed Kate Hayes's alarm. Enclosing a photograph of Nicholas Flood Davin in the letter, she told Agnes that she not very long ago almost went down to KC [Kansas City] but kept my promise to FS [Father Sinnett] to "stay away — to write seldom — to say nothing." I do not think anything should be said even now; but something must be done.

In answer to your query in yest' letter ... I would say "mother" is alive — in this province — and well settled. She knows — but how much I cannot for I do not know.

I am sending you the only thing I have, or kept, out of the tragedy. Put it away, out of sight please, and don't cry over it for already it is drowned in salt tears. Just pray — pray for forgiveness.

My head is splitting with the ache that comes up with memories beginning to drowse. I've been fighting memories always but now they are more alive than ever and they hurt, oh, they bruise and burn. But we mustn't cry anymore ... God knows, courage is needed now.

I am so shaken by this new development of an old grief that I feel stunned — only my mind seems clear (like little patches of sunlight) out of the gloom of five-and-thirty years staggering on! and there was no happiness for anyone after all!

I'd like you to meet B.[Burke] and B.[Bonnie] but of this later. I want my mind more settled than it is before any more mistakes are made ... but until you hear from
me don't write a line the world can't read. It is better.85

Over the years Kate Hayes had kept abreast of her youngest daughter's activities. The letter is signed “Gr.,” a shortened form of “Grandma,” an expression of affection from an older woman who is a close friend. Five days later, Hayes wrote again, still noticeably shaken. “I am slightly hors de combat (nerves only), won't write until I am again feeling shipshape... Went to pieces (in the silliest way) wh. is unlike me.”86

This letter from Kate Hayes to her daughter raises many questions. Hayes revealed that Father Sinnett directed her to limit contact with Agnes. She also hinted that she knew Agnes's mother's identity, and that there were buried memories, upsetting memories with which she needed to grapple. The reader wonders why Agnes should pray for forgiveness. Surely none of this was her fault. Alternatively, perhaps Hayes intended Agnes to pray for forgiveness for Davin, for his suicide.

"Kate Hayes clearly felt that she had done the best she could for her daughter. Society at the time took a dim view of pregnancy outside marriage, and Agnes was Haye's second illegitimate child."

To what mistakes was Hayes referring? Was it a mistake for Agnes to leave the Congregation, or was it a mistake to search for her parents? On the other hand, perhaps the mistake was her own, made three decades earlier when Agnes was an infant and Davin was still alive. Matters needing forgiveness, and mistakes, and the need for secrecy all give the impression that whatever Agnes did not know about her past was unpleasant and best kept hidden.

Clarissa Pinkola Estes, a Jungian psychoanalyst, observes that women and their secrets are "surrounded by shame." She describes the latter as "the dark bundles in a woman's mind that are tied round and round with ropes and bands."87 She comments upon the construction of "endless doors and walls, each locked with twenty locks, and the effort expended in "always building more doors, more dams ... lest the secret escape." Then, when the secret begins to leak out, the ever-vigilant woman "beats, bundles, and burrows it back down ... and builds larger defenses ... more doors, more walls." According to Pinkola Estes, this frantic activity leaves the woman "sweating blood and breathing like a locomotive. A woman who carries a secret is an exhausted woman."88 Perhaps this is what it was like for Kate Simpson Hayes as she struggled to keep the secret hidden.

A week later, on 1 June, Hayes wrote another letter, attempting to correct the mistaken impression that Sinnett's sister was Agnes's mother. She also denied knowing the woman's identity.

My dear Aggie — You have jumped to a wrong conclusion... My dear I do not know who your mother was but I have known for a long time who your father was and ... will add that I was in love with him five and thirty years ago. Everybody “out west” can tell you that....

Surely FS [Father Sinnett] knows who your mother was? If anybody knows he should... He should know all about it... I can't throw any light on the subject — I never knew who the "other woman" was — when I learned there was "another woman" it took the light out of my life.

Sure, I'll spend a night with you when I come down and you must meet my bairnies but they must know nothing as gossip would fly.

So glad I sent you the photo.... How I wish now I had kept the letters; but I burnt even some mss. that I had.89

Likely with complete confidence that the priest would not divulge her name, Kate Hayes referred Agnes to Father Sinnett. Portraying herself as a forsaken victim, Hayes further emphasized the need for secrecy. The story of the hidden children must also be kept from her grandchildren. According to Kate Hayes's granddaughters, the secret was well-guarded indeed, for until now, some seventy years later, neither of them had heard of either Arthur or Agnes.90

Father Sinnett repeatedly told Agnes that he did not know the identity of her mother. He hinted that perhaps Eliza Davin, who had remarried with the surname Cunningham, was the woman in question. This diversionary tactic sent Agnes searching for the former Mrs. Davin, who was eventually located in England. A telegraphic reply stated that Mrs. F.I. Cunningham "never had a child."91 When asked directly if this woman was indeed her mother, Sinnett vaguely replied, of the Davins, "They were married and lived together is all I can say."92 The cleric again told Agnes, in a letter on 11 June, that he did not know who her mother was. "When I took you from St.
B. the Sisters did not tell me the name of your Mother.” He added that, “gladly would I tell you if I could.” Agnes was convinced that Sinnett was hiding the truth. Four days later, on 15 June, he reiterated his position. “What more can I tell you? You are under the impression that I do [know].... Arthur was more reasonable than you — he was satisfied when I told him.... Agnes you wrong me — wrong me greatly.”

Kate Hayes also continued to write to Agnes. On 10 June she wrote “Dearest Aggie,” advising her to be calm. “You have no need to feel upset — and I’ll tell you all I know when we meet.” Hayes was now giving the impression that she did indeed know something. It is understandable that Agnes would be in a nervous state. On 12 June Hayes wrote again, instructing Agnes to “be wise and say little to anyone.” The “other woman” was mentioned once more. “I’ll tell you I know — or ever heard of the other woman” whose name he never breathed.” A second letter was written on the same day in an attempt to calm Agnes’s nagged nerves. Hayes suggested that Agnes come to see her.

By 20 June Kate Hayes was still urging Agnes to come to the West coast, with the remarkable suggestion that the younger woman meet and speak with the former Mrs. Davin “who lives in New Westminster ... and things might be all straightened out for you.” This gives the impression that the former Mrs. Davin was, after all, involved. Kate Hayes must have known that this woman would not have welcomed communication with either Agnes or herself, so perhaps this hint of a possible resolution was made with the hope of luring Agnes to British Columbia. It was eventually decided that Hayes would travel to Winnipeg to meet Agnes. She asked Agnes to meet her in the lobby of the Royal Alexandra Hotel. The meeting was arranged, not as a joyous reunion, but more like a secret rendezvous. Kate instructed,

Go up to the Royal Alexandra July 1st evening + sit down in the rotunda until you see me come in + register. There’ll be a crowd + I might not see you, but sit where you can see passengers come in (up the stairs) + just join me the moment I take the lift to go to my room.... Tell your landlady you are “going to stay with a friend that night.”

What actually happened between the two women remains a mystery. The only clue is contained in Agnes’s manuscript, at the moment when ‘all’ is revealed.

That was you, Barbara [Agnes]; I am your mother.

Aunt Fahey [Kate] would have loved a dramatic embrace, but Barbara [Agnes] ... could not embrace a mother who had not wanted her.... “Thank you for telling me about it.”

“But tell me how you feel about it?”

“My first feeling is, ‘Thank God I am not the child of a priest. I had a decent father.’”

Aunt Fahey [Kate] was crying copiously and wanted a physical response from Barbara [Agnes].... Her mother had never loved her, had never wanted her. Had her brother or her father been there she could have released a flood of tenderness. But reserve, now, seemed more honest.... “I decided not to suckle you so as not to grow fond of you.”

Thought Barbara [Agnes], “She doesn’t even realize she is striking me in the face!” This was the mother she had dreamed of, and for whom she would have given up everything.”

The only other mention of the fateful evening is in a letter Agnes received from her trusted friends, Dr. and Mrs. J.A. Snell. Dr. Snell was the former Principal of the Provincial Normal School, and had earlier counselled Sister Raphael (Agnes) when she experienced doubts about her teaching abilities. “We are pleased to know that the mystery of the years has been cleared away.” Agnes insists that events in the manuscript are a true representation of what actually happened. When discussing her manuscript with Koester, she writes that, “No — the Ms. is not a novel.... Names are changed so as not to hurt sensibilities.” She emphatically declares, “Ms. details exact.”

**ATTEMPTING TO BUILD INTIMATE BONDS**

Agnes continued to teach in Winnipeg, and Kate Hayes moved there from Victoria. In letters written in May and June, Hayes had indicated that her relations with her other children, Burke and Bonnie, were not harmonious. In fact, Hayes confided that she had almost moved to Kansas City to be near Agnes. “My son’s wife hates me, my girl has ‘other interests’ and my sister with whom I was living — well, silence is best. I felt so homeless — I thought of you.” In May, Agnes had offered Hayes money, which was refused. “I offered to give her $40 a month from my salary.” However, by September the offer had been accepted. Dr. Snell advised Agnes, “I think you are doing right but do not give more than is needful.... We think it might be to your interest did your mother decide to return to BC.” In early October, Kate invited Agnes
to lunch, with the suggestion to "bring your coat, and we'll put in an inter-lining while we are chatting." With Agnes contributing to Hayes's living expenses, it appears that the two women had grown closer.

Kate Simpson Hayes was almost seventy years old by then, walking with a cane, and still working, writing "3 columns a week for the Winnipeg Tribune." The fact that Hayes was still working implies that she needed money. Her writing for the Tribune was a daily advice column, "Problems of the Heart," by "Betty Vincent." This was a temporary position, which she had taken while the regular columnist was away. It was strenuous work. As Hayes remarked,

I have that everlasting "Betty" to do as a daily stunt & the letters (over 200 each month) take so much time to read, to ponder and to reply to — it means 3 hrs. work daily alone... some letters taking a whole hour.

Hayes's reply to one reader is particularly significant. The letter in question came from a distressed and frightened young woman, "cowering in the gloom of shame," unmarried with a child, and disowned by her family. Hayes wrote,

Here is a case for no platitudes, for no recriminations in words, for nothing but woman's sympathy and love; for if ever women should stand shoulder to shoulder, heart beating to heart, it is when a sister-woman has been wronged by some thoughtless act — which may even be of her own designing....

Well, my girl, you are face to face with a problem which began in the Garden of Eden... and has been going on — being enacted over and over again.... Your family, from a stricken shame, have disowned and sent you adrift. This action, to the mind of Betty Vincent, is a worse sin than your own.... Well, you must struggle back to the old road, the road of Right-doing, Right-thinking, Right-acting, and you will find women-hands ready to help you back ... just get in step as best you can and whatever you do, do your duty to the child.

These are telling words, written by Kate Hayes at the same time as her own daughter was hoping for reconciliation and recognition. The emphasis she placed on duty to the child suggests that Hayes believed she had done her best, as she saw it, for her own children born out of wedlock. Also, her outspoken criticism of this young woman's family implies that Hayes's own family, her mother and sisters, offered support when she was in a similar situation.

Later that fall, on letterhead from the Winnipeg Tribune, Agnes received a letter from Kate Hayes dated 17 October 1925. The following day marked twenty-four years since Nicholas Flood Davin's death. Remark ing that she had nearly forgotten the significance of the day, Hayes invited Agnes to join her.

Suddenly it dawned on me that tomorrow is a Day of retreat — a day I always spend alone with my memories.... If you feel like joining me in an Ave, I shall be glad, so glad to see you.

The day is one I always spend the same way — a day of fast from morning until evening and a visit to the nearest church.... Queer, that I should forget? Understand? M.

This is the first time that this closing appears in their correspondence. The "M" might well stand for "Mother," since Hayes's papers contain a note written to her daughter Bonnie with the same signature. It is not known if the invitation was accepted. Agnes held her mother partially responsible for Davin's death. Shortly before his suicide, Davin unexpectedly encountered Kate Hayes in the Winnipeg post office. He took advantage of the opportunity to tell her that, despite his wife's objections, he was planning to include both Arthur and Agnes in his will. For whatever reason, Hayes rebuffed him with the terse comment, "You go your way, I'll go mine!" Not long afterwards, Nicholas Flood Davin took his own life in a room at the Clarendon Hotel. Agnes adds a marginal comment to the letter, "This was... the anniversary of my father's death — for which she must have felt much guilt."

The relationship between the two women grew increasingly tense. This can be inferred from comments made by Dr. Snell who wrote to Agnes in March 1926 to say,

It is difficult to say what should be said re your mother.... She has a son and a daughter whom she acknowledged and who, in the eyes of the world, are responsible in some measure at least for her welfare. It is rather difficult to see just what obligation rests upon you. You will have little comfort from her company, nor does it appear that she is enjoying more than spasmodic raptures which in turn are followed by periods of depression from your visits. There cannot be open acknowledgment of your relationship, there is constant intrigue.... In separation there is loss — a sort of heart-
hunger — but this would seem to be even greater when gratification is forbidden though separation may not be.\(^{112}\)

That ties would strain is not surprising. It was a difficult situation for both women, being suddenly propelled into such an intense and intimate relationship. Moreover, their relationship was further complicated by Hayes's insistence on secrecy, which implies that it was shameful or unacceptable in some way. The two women were caught in a tangle of mutual expectations, limitations, and disappointments. Janneke van Mens-Verhulst has examined the mutuality of mother-daughter relationships, and characterizes the complexity of restraints and conflicts involved as "reciprocal relational knots."\(^{113}\) Maintaining such a state of affairs would take considerable mental energy.

In October 1926, Agnes, in an apparent attempt to keep a distance, requested that Hayes not write more frequently. The older woman agreed.

As you say you are "busy" and would rather I shouldn't write more than in the past! I shall accept the polite hint!... I shan't bother you my dear girl!!... Your brief note ... was an agreeable change from your previous four letters. I infer you had the last note OK'd!!! Not an unwise thing as letters often act as weapons we turn against ourselves.... As ever, aff. yours, M———.\(^{114}\)

Hayes did not seem offended by the request. In fact, it appears as though she was humouring Agnes by accepting the limitation. Having letters “OK’d” probably referred to the advice Agnes received from the Snells, since she frequently sent copies of her letters, as well as copies of Kate's, for their commentary. Hayes appeared amused by this, but did not think it unreasonable.

In a letter with no date except for “March,” Agnes pleaded to be left alone at last. It is unclear whether this was written in 1927 or 1928.

In my last note I begged you to not to try and meet me again. It means a nervous breakdown for the following 2 or 3 days — strain that isn't fair to me. I make one exception. If you wanted to meet me let it be with my own 1/2 brother + sister....

God knows I have fought to keep my mental balance through all the sorrow + oppression of these years now you have no help to give me or leave.

Please do not meet me again. Since I do not belong to you since you will not recognize me as your[s] — then don't torture me any more.

You speak of Bonnie's good sense + presence of mind. Would that not hold in all things?

I forgive you now for every injustice you have done towards me and repeat again just continue as in the past to forget there was an Arthur + Agnes.\(^{115}\)

Evidently, the relationship had deteriorated to the point where Agnes wanted to be freed from the secrecy and rejection. Being permanently confined to the shadows, it would be painful to hear about the sister and brother who were freely and openly loved. Whether it was realistic or not, Agnes had been hoping, if not expecting, to be accepted and warmly welcomed by her mother. It seems to have been agonizing for her to face a reality that was quite different. In Of Woman Born, her study of motherhood, Adrienne Rich claims that, regardless of individual circumstances, within every woman there remains a child who “still feels, at moments, wildly unmothered.”\(^{116}\) For someone in Agnes's situation, this feeling would be even more pronounced.

In May 1928, Kate Hayes said she wanted her letters returned. She was under the impression that Agnes was no longer willing to be silent. Agnes told Dr. Snell that her mother had offered her “$600 for all her letters.”\(^{117}\) Dr. Snell, sounding somewhat baffled, offered what advice he could.

Your letter arrived this am. We scarcely know what to say in reply.... We are anxious that you receive any money you can, but ... if we were in your place we would surrender nothing.... It might not be amiss to show a little cordiality, but nothing further.\(^{118}\)

He then reminds Agnes that Hayes's mistrust and apprehension might partly be a result of Agnes's own actions, “the fear that you may enter the ranks of authors.... You have given some intimation of this to your mother, have you not?”\(^{119}\) Even though Agnes was now interested in other pursuits such as teaching, and obtaining a university degree, the threat would remain as long as she had the letters and papers in her possession. Six hundred dollars was a large sum of money, and would not have been offered on a whim. Hayes's earlier remark that “letters often act as weapons we turn against ourselves”\(^{120}\) had proven to be prophetic.

The final letter in the correspondence between the two women was dated 17 September, and was likely written in 1928. Again signed “M,” it reveals an angry Kate Hayes. Bitterness and suspicion had increased on both sides.
Don’t worry, you. Your “story” or anyone belonging to you will not be used by me (and it has taken four days for this decision) unless you yourself force the issue. You have your “story” in your own hands. If you ever again write to me in the tone of your last 3 letters — or if you ever again name in letters addressed to me thro’ other sources I shall immediately act. How?

I shall get a statement from FS [Father Sinnett] and James C [Cunningham] as to actions implied — I shall get the same from the Paris House and also from KC [Kansas City] as to why things turned out as they have....

Your letter shows plainly your intention. I hope this letter of mine makes my intention plain.

I will not be written to in any such tone by anybody much less by you for whom I have done all that was possible, under the circumstances.... You are not only ungrateful but impertinent.\(^{121}\)

Being similarly strong-willed, each had placed the other in a defensive position, from which mutual threats and retaliation could be expected. Sincerely believing that Agnes would be safe with the nuns and Father Sinnett, Kate Hayes clearly felt that she had done the best she could for her daughter. Society at the time took a dim view of pregnancy outside marriage, and Agnes was Hayes’s second illegitimate child. A Catholic orphanage and the shelter of a trusted priest no doubt seemed like acceptable alternatives. On the other hand, Agnes could hardly be expected to be grateful for the care she had received, and was understandably hurt by the deception and rejection. The only other mention Agnes makes of Kate Hayes appears in a letter to the Snells, “I hear nothing of my mother.”\(^{122}\)

Agnes continued to teach in Winnipeg, then studied for and obtained a Bachelor of Arts Degree from the University of Manitoba in 1930. Later that year she travelled to Europe, with plans to study methods of teaching art. Soon afterwards, she was the Art Supervisor of Schools for Winnipeg, and in August of 1931 published a book, *Advancing in Picture Study*, for which Dr. Snell wrote the preface.\(^{123}\) Agnes married Ernest Robinson, a lawyer, in England in September 1937. Photographs show a distinguished-looking tall man with twinkling eyes, silver hair, and a moustache. As near as can be determined, they continued to live in England. Ernest Robinson died sometime between 1944 and 1946.\(^{124}\)

From various ticket stubs and souvenirs in her papers, it appears that Agnes remained in England until 1953. She was active in various artists’ societies, in addition to having her own work displayed.\(^{125}\) The following year, Agnes moved to the United States, and was living in Austin, Texas, where she remained an active artist.\(^{126}\) By 1957 she was in New York City, working as a part-time baby-sitter. As late as 1972, an eighty-two-year-old Agnes was employed as a chess teacher by the New York City School Board;\(^{127}\) she also taught chess on a volunteer basis at various branch libraries in the city. Into her late eighties, Agnes continued to swim several times a week at the YWCA. By this time she was fairly deaf, but still lived alone, though in public housing, and determinedly navigated the streets of New York and the public transport system using a walker, with assorted bags dangling from the handles. Eventually losing most of her eyesight, Agnes was placed in a nursing home, and passed away in July 1993. She was 101.\(^{128}\)

Little is known about the final years of Kate Simpson Hayes’s life. Despite advancing age, and fatigue, she continued to write both plays and prose. Hayes also began a novel, tentatively entitled “The Trail-Breakers,” and this uncompleted manuscript can be found among her papers. She was the guest of
honour at various Canadian Women's Press Club gatherings. One delegate to a Press Club convention in 1932 recalls a ten-minute address by Hayes as "quite a racy speech." As late as 1942, Kate Hayes was still living on her own in Victoria, while her sister Winifred, also in Victoria, resided in St. Mary's Hospital. Although her actual condition is unknown, by 1944 Kate was confined to the same hospital as her elder sister. Both women died within days of one another in January 1945 and are interred in Victoria's Royal Oak Burial Park. Winifred Hayes passed away on 11 January. Kate Hayes succumbed to myocarditis on 15 January, and, as expected, Burke and Bonnie and their families are listed as her only survivors. However, Kate Simpson Hayes did leave her youngest daughter an inheritance of worth. Adrienne Rich, when discussing the complexity of the mother-daughter relationship, remarks that the quality of the mother's life — however embattled and unprotected — is her primary bequest to her daughter, because a woman who can believe in herself, who is a fighter, and who continues to struggle to create livable space around her, is demonstrating to her daughter that these possibilities exist. Her mother did just that, even though Agnes would undoubtedly have disagreed and found little comfort in the thought.

CONCLUSION

When Agnes Hammell left the relative anonymity of the Sisters of Sion to discover her identity, she placed herself in direct conflict with an equally determined woman, her mother, who had been concealing the truth for more than three decades. This was not a promising beginning for a harmonious relationship. By this time Kate Hayes was nearing seventy years of age; she had been protecting the secret for almost half her life. At the outset, although the people of Regina were aware of the nine-year relationship between Nicholas Davin and Kate Hayes, it is not clear how much they knew about the couple's two children. There undoubtedly was speculation and rumour, but scandal was more than likely avoided by the appearance of propriety. Whether society knew or not, Hayes diligently struggled to conceal what she viewed as a source of shame. In other words, she dichotomized her public life and this part of her private life. As time went on, it became increasingly important that the secret be kept. Once Hayes left Regina, her livelihood depended upon whatever she could earn with her pen, and in the public world of newspapers, her reputation was as much a part of her resume as her writing skills.

However, it was not just her own reputation and her ability to earn a living that Kate Hayes was shielding; she was also protecting her other children who had married and had families of their own.

When Agnes was first given to the Church for care, she was frail and sickly, and her well-being was an urgent matter. As Hayes observed her youngest daughter over the years, the girl was apparently well cared for, and then secure in the Sisterhood. Agnes was also sheltered by her mother's silence, but this appears almost incidental, as the threat Agnes represented eventually became a greater concern. It may have been unrealistic of Agnes to hope for an enthusiastic welcome from a mother who had purposely hidden from her for more than thirty years, but her longing for the truth is understandable. By placing her daughter in the family of a trusted friend, Kate Hayes genuinely believed she had done the best she could for Agnes, "under the circumstances," as she described it. Moreover, Hayes was not prepared to dismantle the wall of protection she had so painstakingly constructed. She was determined to maintain the dichotomy between her public life and this aspect of her private life. The "slur of illegitimacy" had made it impossible for the two women to build an intimate bond and to continue their relationship.

NOTES:
1. Saskatchewan Archives Board (hereafter SAB), Agatha Robinson Papers (hereafter Robinson Papers), R-423. 2. Agatha Robinson to the Bishop of Kansas City, 19 September 1946.
3. An analysis of Kate Simpson Hayes's journalistic writing can be found in Constance A. Maguire, "Leaving the Hearth Fire Untended": Women and Public Pursuits in the Journalism of Kate Simpson Hayes," Prairie Forum 23 (1) (Spring 1998), 67-92. This article explores Hayes's views, as expressed in her newspaper columns, on women's activities outside the domestic sphere including woman suffrage, equal rights, and women's clubs.
7. For an analysis of the effect of similar contradictions on a nineteenth-


14. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, R-652.2; SAB, Catherine Simpson Hayes Papers (hereafter Hayes Papers), R-2-15. Agnes grew up with her parents, Emma Cunningham, believing she was her father, Sinnett's niece. She took the surname Hammell at age 17, when she was told that her parents were James Hammell and Teresa O'Connor. This had been recorded in the parish register of the Immaculate Conception Church, Winnipeg. According to Agnes, Father A. Chervier later admitted to her that the entry had been deliberately falsified to shield her "from the slur of illegitimacy" so she could be admitted to the convent. Agnes continued to use the name until her marriage to Ernest Robinson in 1937. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 2. Agnes Agatha Robinson to the Bishop of Kansas City, 19 September 1946; SAB, Papers of Charles Beverley Koester (hereafter Koester Papers), 1-28 (a). Agnes Agatha (Hammell) Robinson to C. B. Koester, 2 February 1979.


16. Ibid.; also, SAB, Koester Papers, 1-28 (a), (Hammell) Robinson to Koester, 17 October 1978. Robinson also refers to these experiences in various marginal notes. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, R-652.2.


20. National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Government of Canada (Canada), Census of New Brunswick (hereafter NB Census), 1861, Restigouche County, Parish of Dalhousie, Micro, M-588; also Hutchinson's New Brunswick Directory (Saint John, 1865-66, 1867-88), Canadian Institute for Historical Micro (CIHM), No. 00713.

21. Hayes was ordered to pay eighty-one pounds, sixteen shillings, two pence. Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (hereafter PANB), Province of New Brunswick, Supreme Court Judgment, George H. Russell & Richard Hocken vs. Patrick Hayes, 7 April, 1867, RS 51; also PANB, Province of New Brunswick, Restigouche County Registry Office Records, Vol. D, 177, RS 93.

22. A tattered handbill in Kate Hayes's scrapbook, dated 18 April 1867, advertises the public auction of "the Stock in trade of Patrick Hayes, consisting of Dry Goods, Groceries, Hardware etc. Also a quantity of household furniture." SAB, Hayes Papers, 4 (Scrapbook), R-2.15.

23. Patrick Hayes is buried at St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin, The Polk County Press (Ossceola, Wisconsin), 31 March 1869; also the Union Advocate (Fredericton, New Brunswick), 3 June 1869.


25. Kate Hayes is not mentioned in official records, although she apparently received five months' formal training. PANB, Teachers' College Records, RS 117; Morgan, Canadian Men and Women of the Time, 516; also Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter PAM), Public Schools of Manitoba, (Half-Yearly Attendance) Registers, M-422.


27. NAC, Canada Census, 1881, Manitoba, Micro. C-13282.

28. The Regina Journal 5 November 1886, 20 January 1887, 12 January 1888; also Birdie Observer (Birdie, Manitoba), September 1887-January 1889.

29. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, "Granna" (Kate Simpson Hayes) to "My dear little Sister," (Agnes Hammell), 24 Apr. 1925. Ross Bay Cemetery is located in Victoria, British Columbia.

30. SAB, Diary of Reverend Arthur Whiteside, 1880-1882, R-2.59; The Canadian Statesman (Bowmanville, Ontario), 21 July 1882.

31. NAC, Canada Census, 1881, Durham West, Darlington Township, Micro. C-13242. A Roast mill was among the enterprises owned by the Simpson family.

32. SAB, Koester Papers, I-28 (a), (Hammell) Robinson to Koester, n.d.


34. Morgan, Canadian Men and Women of the Time, 516. The exact terms remain unknown. Perhaps it was simply a private agreement. The author wishes to thank Constance Backhouse for her comments regarding separation agreements in late nineteenth-century Canada.

35. NAC, Canada Census, 1891, Assiniboia West, Regina, Micro. T-6426.


37. Ontario Genealogical Society, Whitby-Ottawa Branch, Bowmanville Burial Register, No. 5794.


42. The Leader (Regina), 5 October 1886, 12 October 1886; The Regina Journal, 14 October 1887.


44. The Regina Journal, 12 January 1888; The Leader, 17 July 1888.

45. Initially writing as "Elaine," Hayes soon adopted the pseudonym "Mary Markwell." Her writing for The Leader was sporadic, beginning

46. The Regina Journal 29 Sept. 1887, 26 April 1888.

47. City of Regina Archives (Regina), Town of Regina Assessment Roll, 1889, 1890, COR-6; Regina, Town of Regina Assessment Roll, 1892-1898, COR-6. Kate Hayes owned this house until 1898.


55. Ibid.

56. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, Canada, Department of National Defence to A. Hammell, 12 June 1925.

57. (Hammell) Robinson insists that this is true. SAB, Koester Papers, I-28 (a), (Hammell) Robinson to Koester, 11 February 1979; also The Leader, 25 June 1889 (written 13 June); 16 July (27 June); 23 July (11 July); 20 August (10 August); 1 October (26 September); 8 October (3 October); 29 October (23 October).

58. "Local News," The Leader, 3 November 1891.

59. (Hammell) Robinson insists that the correct date is 11 January, although she continued to use the November 1891 date, since that is what was listed in orphanage and church records. SAB, Koester Papers, I-28 (a), (Hammell) Robinson to Koester, 11 February 1979; also SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, handwritten note, n.d.


61. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, note by (Hammell) Robinson, n.d.; also SAB, Koester Papers I-28 (a), (Hammell) Robinson to Koester, 2 February 1979.

62. "Town and Country," The Leader, 28 July 1892; "Winnipeg Industrial," The Leader, 4 August 1892; "Winnipeg Industrial, cont'd," The Leader, 8 August 1892.

63. NAC, Morgan Papers, MG 29, D 61, Vol. 6, 2226-2227, C-1992, Mary Markwell (Hayes) to Morgan, 8 November 1901.

64. NAC, Morgan Papers, MG 29, Vol. 6, 2205, C-1992, Hayes to Morgan, 12 April 1904.

65. Koester, Mr. Davin, M.P., 129.

66. SAB, Koester Papers, I-28 (a), (Hammell) Robinson to Koester, 2 February 1979; also SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, note by (Hammell) Robinson, n.d.

67. SAB, Koester Papers, I-28 (a), (Hammell) Robinson to Koester, 2 February 1979; also 17 October 1978.

68. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, J.C. Sinnett to Hammell, 15 June 1925.

69. "Town and Country," The Leader, 7 January 1897; "Local and General," The Standard (Regina), 31 December 1896.

70. "Town and Country," The Leader, 2 September 1897; "Local and General," The Standard, 2 September 1897; "Town and Country," The Leader, 23 September 1897; "Rev. Father Sinnett," The Leader, 30 September 1897.

71. Christie (Hammell), "The Days Are Not All Equal," 16.

72. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, "Gra'ma" (Hayes) to "My dear little Sisser" (Hammell), 24 April 1925.

73. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, letter of reference (no salutation), French Institute of Notre Dame de Sion, Kansas City, Mo., 2 April 1925.


76. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, Sister M.L. Couture, Grey Nunnery, Montreal to Agnes Hammell, 20 July 1925. Punctuation and spelling are as in original.

77. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, Sister Flore, St. Roch's Hospital, Winnipeg to Agnes Hammell. Punctuation as in original. Sister Flore is Florence, the young girl who was with Agnes when she was hidden from Davin and a detective at the orphanage in 1896.

78. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, Sinnett to "My dear niece" (Hammell), 11 June 1925; also 27 May 1925, 15 June 1925.

79. Ibid., 11 June 1925.

80. Ibid.

81. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, Canada, Department of National Defence to Agnes Hammell, 12 June 1925.

82. SAB, Koester Papers, I-28 (a), Photocopy of handwritten will of Pte. H.A. Davin, 14th Battalion, 15 November 1914.


84. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, Sinnett to "My dear niece" (Hammell), 5 May 1925.

85. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, "Gr." (Hayes) to "Darling" (Hammell), 20 May 1925.

86. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, "Gr." (Hayes) to "Dear Child" (Hammell), 25 May 1925.


88. Ibid., 378.

89. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, "(name scratched out) (Hayes) to "My dear Aggie" (Hammell), 1 June 1925.

90. Telephone conversation with Boycie Unwin, 10 May 1995; Maryan Heiser to the author, 28 February 1997.

91. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, Canadian Pacific Telegram dated 22 May 1925.

92. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, Sinnett to "My dear Agnes" (Hammell), 27 May 1925.

93. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, Sinnett to "My dear Niece" (Hammell), 11 June 1925.

94. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, Sinnett to "My dear Niece" (Hammell), 15 June 1925.

95. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, "Gr." (Hayes) to "Darkest Aggie" (Hammell), 10 June 1925.

96. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, "Gr." (Hayes) to "Dear little Sisser" (Hammell), 12 June 1925.

97. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, "Gr'ma" (Hayes) to "Dear little Sisser" (Hammell), 24 June 1925.
99. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, J.A. Snell to Hammell, 8 July 1925.
100. SAB, Koester Papers, I-28 (a), (Hammell) Robinson to Koester, 2 February 1979.
101. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, (name scratched out) (Hayes) to “My dear Aggie” (Hammell), 1 June 1925.
102. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, marginal notation by (Hammell) Robinson, on letter from “Gr.” (Hayes), 20 May 1925.
103. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, Snell to Hammell, 29 September 1925.
104. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, “Kinds” (Hayes) to “Dear Little Lady-of-the-Smile” (Hammell), 6 Oct. 1925.
105. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, “Gr’ma” (Hayes) to “My dear little Sisster” (Hammell), 24 April 1925.
106. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, “Gr’in” (Hayes) to “Dear little Sisster” (Hammell), 20 June 1925. It is not known, beyond April to June, how long Kate Hayes wrote the column.
108. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, “M” (Hayes) to “Dear little Girl” (Hammell), 17 October 1925.
109. SAB, Hayes Papers, 5 (Miscellaneous Items).
110. Koester, Mr. Dacuin, M.P., 206-207, also SAB, Koester Papers, I-28 (a), (Hammell) Robinson to Koester, 2 February 1979; this is also documented in Christie (Hammell), “The Days Are Not All Equal,” 413.
111. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 1, “M” (Hayes) to “Dear little Girl” (Hammell), 17 October 1925. This is a handwritten comment by (Hammell) Robinson in the margin of the above letter.
112. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 2, Snell to Hammell, 14 March 1926.
114. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 2, “M” (Hayes) to “My dear A” (Hammell), October 1926.
115. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 2, copy of letter from Hammell with no greeting or salutation, March (?1928).
117. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 3, Snell to “Agatha” (Hammell), 9 May 1928; this remark is a marginal comment by Agnes (Hammell) Robinson.
118. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 3, Snell to “Agatha” (Hammell), 9 May 1928.
119. Ibid.
120. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 2, “M” (Hayes) to “My dear A” (Hammell), October 1926.
121. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 3, “M” (Hayes) to “My dear A” (Hammell), 17 September (?1928).
122. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 2, Hammell to Snell, n.d. Agnes also mentions plans for university study, so this was likely written in 1928.
123. Agnes Hammell, Advancing in Picture Study (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., Ltd., 1931).
124. SAB, Photographic Collection, R-A 21,493-R-A 21,497; also SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 3.
125. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 4.
126. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 4, copy of membership card for the Texas Fine Arts Association, Austin Texas, 9 May 1954.
127. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-423, 4, Catherine Whitmore Jones, To Whom it May Concern, 23 March 1957; also Herbert N. Krassof, Principal, Public School 97, Manhattan, to (Hammell) Robinson 16 April 1974.
128. SAB, Robinson Papers, R-452.2, 1, Lynne Norris to SAB, 4 June 1956; also SAB, Robinson Papers, R-452.2, 9; “Robin” (Hammell Robinson) to Lynne Norris, n.d.; also SAB, Robinson Papers, R-452.2, 18, Mr. Ling-Wai Fung to Lynne Norris, 17 September 1993.
129. Pam, Media Club of Canada Papers, Winnipeg Branch, Box 7, M-614, Miriam Green Ellis, “Pathfinders,” (Canadian Women’s Press Club, 1931), 5. The content of this speech remains unknown.
131. Old Cemeteries Society of Victoria to the author, 29 March 1994. This information comes from cemetery records.

‘The Producer’ in 1927

“Did you read the report of the International Wheat Pool Conference at Kansas in last week’s issue? It shows how other countries in different parts of the world appreciate the work we have done in the Canadian West.”

_The Western Producer_, 12 May 1927

“FRANCE AND GERMANY SIGN ECONOMIC PACT – A provisional economic treaty between France and Germany was signed in Paris last week after extended negotiations.”

_The Western Producer_, 7 April 1927

“The Women of Saskatchewan, who have been spending their best efforts upon making a success of the Egg and Poultry Pool, have been coming in lately for a heap of praise. It has been announced that more than a half a million dollars has been received by farmer’s wives in return for their eggs and dressed fowl in the first year that the Pool has been operating.”

_The Western Producer_, 28 April 1927

... to be continued on page 30
Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Histories

Part I: The Othering of Indigenous History

by Winona Stevenson

Historians of Indian-White Relations have only recently taken a serious look at how Indigenous oral histories can broaden our understanding of the distant past. Even the most open-minded, however, still grapple with questions or doubts concerning the nature and quality of oral history, oral history methodologies, and how oral history can be used in scholarly textual form. For most historians, the major prohibiting factor is that First Nations’, Metis’ and Inuit Peoples’ oral histories do not neatly conform to conventional Ranken imperative. Trained in the Western mode, historians are confronted with form and content that often bear little resemblance to what they know and work with. Unfamiliarity breeds suspicion which results in rejection, omission by avoidance, or superficial treatment. They fear what they don’t understand and so they “other” Indigenous voices right out of their own histories. However, the recent Supreme Court decision on Delgamuuk, specifically its ruling on Indigenous oral history as evidence, combined with the ground-breaking work of the current Office of the Treaty Commissioner of Saskatchewan, obligates us all to seriously reconsider the value and place of Indigenous memories in Saskatchewan history.

Given the depth of understanding required, and the range of issues surrounding Indigenous oral histories, a dissertation or two could not cover it all. Therefore, the object of this first essay on Indigenous oral histories is to encourage historians to engage in some self-reflection about their own attitudes and treatment of Indigenous oral histories and to consider more seriously why Indigenous oral histories have been othered in the academy.

As a fledgling oral historian, my learning of that set of knowledge will take a lifetime and I have only just begun. What I understand so far comes from many places. It comes from being raised in a family instilled with strong Cree identity, values, oral traditions and connection to territory. It comes from living as a guest among many different North American Indigenous communities — rural and urban. And, it comes from close friends and teachers. My understanding of the intersections between Indigenous oral histories and western historiography have also been influenced by many critical theorists, ethnohistorians and other inter-disciplinary scholars. Even more influential in this regard have been our own Indigenous literary and intellectual greats who have been writing in the oral tradition for a long time. They teach by ‘doing’. They taught us how oral traditions can inform our scholarship and have paved the way for people of my generation to return home, relearn, and find new ways to write from our own places.

Like every other student of history I was immersed in the academic community where I learned about how historians from North America perceive and practice history, and much has been valuable. But it is ironic that I spent 17 years studying my own peoples’ histories in a university, from an outside perspective using eurocentric sources and methods, when Indigenous Peoples have intellectual traditions of our own.

A large portion of my own research ponders why it is that many conventionally-trained historians believe, subconsciously or not, that they can tell the stories of my peoples’ experiences without talking to us, or valuing, or placing any credibility in, how we understand our past — how they can presume to represent our histories without ever hearing our side of the story. The concept “Indian-White Relations” presupposes at least two parties, each of which has its own constructions and understandings about that...

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The drawing of Chief Poundmaker at the top of this page is by Dean Whitebear. Originally opposed to Treaty No. 6, Chief Poundmaker later signed it.
relationship. By focusing on the historical remnants left by one side of that relationship, historians reinforce the colonialist notion that Western historical canons and conventions are superior — that their methods and sources support ‘true history’ and that Native peoples have no historical traditions worthy of note.

In the past few decades there has been an outpouring of histories by Indian-White Relations Historians and New Indian Historians who challenge conventional eurocentric and assimilationist attitudes by disclosing the multiple oppressions Native peoples have experienced and their responses to those forces. Other historians have celebrated Indigenous peoples as active agents in encounter with Europeans. While great strides have been made, most historians still depend on documented records for their research and teaching material on the distant past. Documents are the most accessible and when subjected to critical analyses they do provide a wealth of valuable information. What many historians do not realize is that their continued dependence on documents maintains the academic tradition of telling the stories of my peoples’ historical experiences within the colonialist framework because it marginalizes and neglects Native voices — generational memories about their various oppressions, resistance and survivance strategies are silenced. Ask any historian of “Indian-White Relations” to whom they spoke or who guided their questions and you will find that perhaps they consulted a few as-told-to autobiographies and some translated transcriptions of a few Indian speeches or interviews. Many Indigenous scholars have asserted that scholarship driven by questions grounded in community, rather than in libraries and archives, often yields new methodologies and new answers.

Given the current political climate historians are careful to keep their criticisms private, but I and others still hear the argument that Indigenous oral histories do not stand up to the tests of academic scholarship and/or that oral histories are hearsay or anecdotal. Some historians rationalize that they do not want to be charged with appropriation and still others are simply content to know the past from their Ivory Tower offices. Let’s face it, it’s hard work traipsing around in Indian country, following or chauffeuring Old People around, picking berries, hauling wood, smoking meat, digging wild turnips, hoeing potatoes, or taking them to and from bingo. Our finely tuned gray matter has difficulty equating chopping wood with intellectual pursuits because it is a totally different kind of pedagogy that requires historians to learn a new way of learning. And why should we? Our academic training indoctrinates us into what Hayden White calls the “ironic perspective.” Consciously or unconsciously, many historians hold the elitist and ironic view that people generally lack the perspective in their own time to view their experiences as clearly as outside historians can see it in retrospect.

Before a university grants students of history the esteemed title of “historian”, and before their work is perceived as valid or scholarly, students are required to submit to years of intense study and training. Throughout this educational process we, as students, are assimilated into the language, epistemologies, traditions, cultural prerequisites and methodologies of our chosen trade. Our success in this endeavour is determined by our ability to meet the standards or internalize the canons of a very culturally-specific tradition. We emerge from our training with a sense of confidence — we know what history is, we know how to do history, we do history. But when we move on to study the histories of people outside this culture — people who have an entirely different historiographic tradition which is also very culturally-specific — how well do we immerse ourselves in their language, epistemologies, traditions, cultural prerequisites and methodologies?

So why do so many conventionally trained historians have such a hard time dealing with Indigenous oral history? In most instances it is because we are trained to view the past within a very culturally-specific conceptual mode. Conventional historians have been trained to recognize or expect that “history” consists of certain prescribed standards, tenets and qualities, namely: (1) Precision in Form — we expect our histories to incorporate narrative and analysis; have a beginning, middle and end; and be well documented; (2) Precision in Chronology — time is all-important to the historian. Serial time, measured in linear dimensions and chronological sequence, is vital in determining cause and effect; (3) Sources — according to the Rankean formula, official written documents are preferred over all others as
source materials for history, because they are fixed and stable, and therefore, can be tested; (4) Testability — all messages or sources are required to undergo evaluation to determine their validity which is done by comparing them to other sources. The pursuit of "truth" requires critical analysis; (5) Finally, history presumes and reinforces certain culturally-determined values and canons, like truth, fact, objectivity, time. Oral history and other oral traditions seldom adhere to these conventional imperatives. While some or all of these requirements may be present, they are usually not in the same mix, nor are they conceptualized the same way.

Historians are further inhibited because they do not recognize or understand the distinctions between and among the different kinds of Indigenous histories — all Indigenous oral histories are not alike. While a number of academic oral historians have attempted to define and categorize oral traditions, this has proven difficult because of the range and variety of oral traditions in the world. Jan Vansina, for example, has defined "oral tradition" as both a process [a transmission at least a generation old] and a product [the message].

The trouble with this definition is that it does not take into account that Indigenous Peoples' have their own respective intellectual histories. This aspect, a vital ingredient in Western history, is seldom recognized or respected outside Western historical traditions.

From my learning I understand that oral tradition refers to the philosophical enterprise and knowledge, the processes of transmission, and the messages in all their forms. Oral traditions encompass all Indigenous knowledge sets which are transmitted orally down the generations over time. Oral history consists of different kinds of distinct and overlapping histories — the stories of genesis and mystical times, stories of distant events and persons, family histories and personal reminiscences. How these stories are organized, and how they overlap, as well as the rules that govern their keeping and transmission are unique among different Indigenous Peoples.

Personal reminiscences are considered oral history 'proper' in the Western paradigm but among many Indigenous societies, while they often overlap with other kinds of stories, they are different because they are specific to the life experiences of the teller. Personal reminiscences include direct observation and to a large degree are autobiographical in nature. Given the wide range of oral history forms, qualities and data, it is significant to note that many conventional historians still tend to distrust all but personal reminiscences. The reason generally given is that eye-witness accounts are more reliable — they can be evaluated and tested against documentary sources and can be easily footnoted. Ironically, in most Indigenous contexts personal reminiscences are often the most susceptible to change over time because they are informal and are seldom governed by the same rigorous standards that oral histories abide by. Over time selected personal histories become family histories.

Many of us grew up hearing family histories about the Treaties because many people witnessed them. For example many people, who witnessed the signing of Treaty No. 6 at Fort Carlton in 1876, passed down their Treaty stories through the family line. But there were also specialists designated by each Band to maintain and protect the remembrances of that event. Because it was such a significant event, the Old Men who were charged with the task of keeping it, were bound by the pipe. The events of Treaty No. 6, what was spoken back and forth and what was agreed upon, became protected by ceremony and for a complete telling of that event the seeker is required to actively participate. The Old Men had apprentices who had to learn all the songs and ceremony attached to that knowledge before they could take over the keeping task, and before they were allowed to tell the story, and that process takes years.

While many people witnessed the signing of Treaty No. 6 very few possess the entire story in all its detail, very few have the full oral history of that event which includes the ceremony and pipe that protect and accompany the story.

Clearly what is missing in scholarly discussions about Aboriginal oral histories are discussions about traditional intellectual history — how Aboriginal Peoples structure, organize, sift, retain and transmit knowledge about the past. Indigenous oral history is not about racing into Indian country with tape-recorder in hand and taking. Neither is it about hiring locals to interview Old People and translate and transcribe interviews, that are read at leisure in distant offices. Aboriginal oral histories are also about human
relations — past to present generations, teacher to student, outsider to insider. Before we can really understand what oral history is and how we can use it, we first need to know the people who possess it.

NOTES:


10. The distinctions and relations between life histories of the recent past and oral histories of the distant past deserve more in-depth treatment than is possible here and will be addressed later.


History in the Community –
Celebrating Herstory: 25 Years of
Women’s History in the Community

by Patricia L. Williams

The Saskatoon Women’s Calendar Collective has reason to celebrate; Herstory 2000: The Canadian Women’s Calendar is our 25th edition. In 1974, the year of our first edition, many thought a publication written by a community-based, co-operative writing group with a membership that would change over time could not last; that the collective wrote about the history of women made it only that more unlikely.

The Collective, whose members research, write and edit this annual essay collection/date book, is a prime example of a community-based history writing group. Like other groups of so-called amateur historians, members of the Collective have paid and unpaid work and family responsibilities. Nearly 50 women — some mothers, some grandmothers, some neither but all curious — have been members over the years.

Herstory had its beginnings in 1972, when Gwen Gray, a student at the University of Saskatchewan travelling in the United States, saw a calendar featuring women’s lives. When she returned to Saskatoon, she talked to friends in a women’s group about creating a Canadian women’s calendar. After some discussion, five women decided to form the Saskatoon Women’s Calendar Collective and to create a publication that focused on Canadian women and their stories. Several were single mothers who had returned to university but all juggled study, work and family responsibilities; juggling responsibilities is a tradition that continues, though none of the current members is a student.

The decision to form a collective seemed and still seems a natural way to organize in Saskatchewan.

Women and men have been working in co-operatives for many years; most people in the province belong to at least one. Each member brings skills and abilities to the group and together the group becomes greater than the sum of its members. This has always been a strength of the Saskatoon Women’s Calendar Collective.

The new collective applied for and received an Opportunities for Youth grant that meant they had summer jobs for 1973. The five had little experience writing or publishing for a general audience, any more than they had a definite model of how to create what became Herstory. In 1973, there was little evidence of women’s lives in the written history. History, as defined by the male historians of the academy, was a history of the white, male elites. Women were men-

“We are still excited when we find interesting women whose stories have been lost or who are known only in their immediate community. We practise history. Like other community-based historians, we are story tellers.”

Patricia L. Williams, who has a B.A. in history and a Ph.D. in communication, has been a member of the Saskatoon Women’s Calendar Collective since the 1980 edition. She has been part of a number of community-based history projects over the years, including the WASH (Women in Alberta and Saskatchewan History) Workshop, and has curated several displays on the history of women in Saskatchewan.

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archives, or if they were stored in an archives, were generally part of the family papers of important men.

It was in this environment that the founding members of the Collective sought women's stories. They looked in the university library and found little. One member found her way to the Saskatoon office of the Saskatchewan Archives Board and discovered Violet McNaughton's papers. Those papers were and continue to be a treasure trove. Members also found valuable material at the local history room of the Saskatoon Public Library. They looked for books written by women and found, among others, Halfbreed by Maria Campbell and Wheat and Women by Georgina Binnie-Clark. They interviewed local pioneer women, sought out interesting women in the community and wrote letters.

The 1974 Collective recalled: "There was also the tremendous excitement of discovering what so many Canadian women of the past had said and done. Many enthusiastic and delightful hours were spent talking with local pioneer women and digging through files in archives." With little experience in historical research, with little material available, and working against the received notion of history, they created the first edition of Herstory.

At the same time these pioneers were creating Herstory, other women were trying to re-define history in the academy. The explosion of history about non-elites was a few years away, but it was beginning during those years of the mid-70s. Collective members were in the forefront of discovering, or perhaps more accurately, re-discovering, the stories of Canadian women.

We wrote, and write, about women who were 'firsts' such as Ethel Jean MacLachlan, the first woman judge in Saskatchewan, as well as many...
women who were not ‘important,’ but who helped create and maintain communities, who supported other women. Canada has always been full of women like Mary Amirault, a Métis midwife and ranch woman in the Fort Pitt area; Mattie Mayes, matriarch of the Black community near Eldon; Helen Mallory Schrader, a Saskatoon-area writer and photographer. We found many women who should be in every history book. We learned that prairie grain growers owe a huge debt to Margaret Newton; she made a break-through discovery about the nature of wheat rust and was a world renowned expert, yet few remember her today. We learned that Frances McGill, appointed Provincial Bacteriologist in 1918 and pathologist for the Saskatchewan Department of Health in 1928, was made an honourary member of the RCMP years before women were admitted to the ranks.

When a new member joins, others tell her stories about our Collective, and help her through the fine points of footnotes and bibliography. Together, we share our experiences and knowledge of archives and libraries throughout Canada; no single member knows everything, but collectively, we have visited archives and libraries in every province and territory, searching for the stories of women in Canada. We search the many articles and books about women in Canada published in the last 20 years.

Since 1974, Collective members have been asked “Aren’t you going to run out of women?” Our answer has always been “We have more women that we can use in the next few years, and we keep finding more.” As the years go on, we have made changes in how we work; personal computers have certainly made our tasks much easier. We are still, however, committed to telling the story of women in Canada from a non-elite, non-academic point of view, using the best primary sources we can find. We are still excited when we find interesting women whose stories have been lost or who are known only in their immediate community. We practise history. Like other community-based historians, we are story tellers.

NOTES:
1. The current issue of Herstory is available from many bookstores and museum gift shops or may be ordered from the publisher, Coteau Books; their toll-free number is 1-800-440-4471. Back issues may be ordered from the publisher. The Saskatoon Women’s Calendar Collective may be reached at: Box 7344, Saskatoon, Sk, S7K 4T2. The Collective’s papers may be found at the University of Saskatchewan Archives.
2. Our founding members were: June Bantjes, Beth Foster, Gwen Gray, Colleen Polfreis and Erin Shoemaker.
3. Lloyd Rodwell, a Saskatchewan Archives Board staff archivist, suggested that the McNaughton papers would be useful.

‘The Producer’ in 1927

“THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE CANADIAN FARMER — What is all the turmoil about in China? Is it a squabble between rival factions in an uncivilized land? What do the great powers want? What is the object of the concentration of foreign troops, ships, and implements of war in the Chinese region? Apart from moral factors, leaving out the question of the rights of people to seek their own salvation in their own way, have Canadian farmers, as farmers, any interest in the revolution now proceeding in China?” [An article followed by John C. Armitage, an Australian journalist, who had been in China most of the time during the previous five years. He concluded that] “a triumph for Chinese Nationalism means the removal of an economic menace from Canada, with a vast market for Canadian wheat. Foreign imperialism in China means a return to those ‘good old days’ when the farmer was a feudal serf.”

The Western Producer, 12 May 1927

[Under a picture of the handsome young Chiang Kai-shek was the caption] “CANTONESE WAR CHIEF — General Chiang Kai-shek, chief of the Victorious Cantonese army, who disclaims all responsibility for the rioting of some of his troops at Nanking, where the British Consul and several other British and American residents were wounded.”

The Western Producer, 7 April 1927

“Did you notice the news item last week on the front page that Canada is to have a fine embassy building at Washington? It’s not going to be an ‘lean-to’ affair with a sod roof either. It will cost a cool $500,000.”

The Western Producer, 28 April 1927

.... to be continued on page 44
Art Nouveau, Immigration Propaganda, and the Peoples of Saskatchewan

by Georgina M. Taylor

The Art Nouveau design on the cover of this issue of Saskatchewan History is taken from the cover of a booklet written to appeal to prospective immigrants. It is one of many examples of the immigration advertising that helped to change the face of Saskatchewan and is therefore an important part of the province's history. The original booklet, titled "20th Century Canada," was written late in 1905 and distributed by Canada's Department of the Interior while Frank Oliver was the Liberal Minister of the Interior, between April 1905 and October 1911.

By examining the cover and the text of the pamphlet, Oliver's influence, and the history of the period it is possible to determine the sort of people the government of Canada wanted to settle on the prairies, those it wanted to exclude, and those it wanted to marginalize. Although its choices had an influence on the composition of Saskatchewan's population and the place various people were to have in the hierarchies of power in the province, the people themselves also played an important role in shaping the province during its formative years.

Frank Oliver, an Ontarian who was born in 1858, worked for the Globe in Toronto and moved to Winnipeg early in his career. He then moved to Alberta where he founded the Edmonton Bulletin, which he published until 1923. He was one of the Anglo-Celtic Protestants, mainly from Ontario and Britain, who had "almost exclusive control of the political, legal, cultural, and educational institutions" on the prairies. Like many Ontarians, who were very influential on the prairies, he wanted to make the West into a "new Ontario." In 1883 Oliver had become a member of the North-West Territories Council in which he was active and influential. In 1888 he had been elected to the Legislative Assembly, which had replaced the Council. He sat in the Assembly until 1896 when he was elected a federal Member of Parliament. As the Minister of the Interior in 1905 he was also the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, who was in charge of the Department of Indian Affairs, and he was in charge of the Bureau of Immigration. Oliver was very enthusiastic about developing the West in the interests of his constituents in Edmonton and those farmers who he believed were of good "class and character."

Oliver's concept of the ideal farmer was different from Clifford Sifton's ideal. Sifton, Oliver's predecessor, who had been the Minister of the Interior from 1896 to 1905, had reorganized the department. He had established the basic framework for the settlement of the West and he had overseen the arrival of thousands of immigrants on the prairies. Both Sifton and Oliver wanted to fill the West with white male homesteaders and their families, preferably from Manitoba, Ontario, the United States, or Britain, but Sifton had focused mainly on the immigrants' ability to farm. A "stalwart" eastern European "peasant in a sheepskin coat born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children" were "good quality" prairie settlers in Sifton's eyes. Oliver, on the other hand, had told the House of Commons in 1903 that "it is not merely a question of filling that country with people who will produce wheat and buy manufactured goods." He believed that it is a question of the ultimate results of the efforts put forward for the building of a Canadian nationality.... This can never be accomplished if the preponderance of the population should be of such a class and character as will deteriorate rather than elevate the conditions of our people and our country at large.

During the late nineteenth century, when Sifton was the Minister, the government had been very eager to attract settlers to fill the West and therefore his policies had been flexible. By the time Oliver took over in 1905 settlers were flooding onto the prairies so he could afford to be more selective than Sifton had.

Georgina M. Taylor, who has a Ph.D. in history, teaches at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College and the University of Saskatchewan. Her research focuses on the history of prairie farm women. Her grandparents were prairie homesteaders from Scotland and England.
As William Janzen points out, by 1905 the situation had changed. Immigration was reaching record levels: 146,266 came in 1905 and 189,064 in 1906. Most immigrants, as well as many land-hungry people from other parts of Canada, made their way to the prairies. Land was becoming more scarce with the result that homestead regulations were applied more strictly.¹⁷ Many Euro-Canadian scholars who focus on the Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal scholars themselves see it as “the colonization” of the prairies, part of a larger pattern of European colonization around the world.¹⁸ Métis scholar Howard Adams and Arthur Ray, a Euro-Canadian historian, see the arrival of Ontarians, like Frank Oliver, as a “Canadian invasion” of the prairies.¹⁹

THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES AND WOMEN SETTLERS

As historian Walter Hildebrandt points out, the history of the West can no longer be about “the ‘great’ settlement of the West;” it also has to be about “what happened to those who were already there.”²⁰ By 1905 the people of the First Nations and the Métis had been subjugated and the treaties had been signed.²¹ The land had been surveyed and a system for distributing homesteads had been established. The homestead system, which was set out in the Dominion Lands Act, had been established. It was explained briefly in the booklet “20th Century Canada.”²² According to section 70 of the Indian Act treaty and non-treaty Indians could not apply for homesteads nor could they acquire other land in the prairie provinces.²³ The treaty Indians were, as Cree leader Edward Ahenakew put it, “hobbled like horses” to their reserves, under the direction of Oliver and the Department of Indian Affairs.²⁴ They were, as historian Blair Stonechild points out, “vulnerable to government whim, mismanagement, and manipulation.”²⁵

The North-West Mounted Police, who had enormous power, were restricting the movements of the people of the First Nations and the Métis and attempting to control the immigrants, especially those they saw as threatening.²⁶ The Mounties were ensuring that the West was “orderly and hierarchial, not a lawless frontier democracy but a place where powerful institutions and a responsible paternalistic upper class” controlled the administration of justice in an attempt to avoid the “excesses” of the American West.²⁷ The Mounties provided colonization services to the settlers who needed help with the administrative details of settlement.²⁸ They helped to ensure that the West stayed a part of Canada by suppressing aboriginal independence and controlling the settlers.²⁹

Frank Oliver’s paternalistic attitudes were clearly evident in his treatment of the people of the First Nations. He had a low opinion of the Indians and he wanted to marginalize them.³⁰ He “believed they would never be ‘civilized’ and would never profitably use their land” and therefore “it was useless to try to make farmers out of Indians.”³¹ He clung to these...
beliefs in spite of the fact that, as historian Sarah Carter shows, many reserve Indians wanted to farm and had been successful at farming in the 1880s before government policy destroyed their chances of success at commercial farming. During Oliver’s years as the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs he introduced legislation which resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of acres of good land on Indian reserves. Blair Stonechild points out that they “lost over a thousand square miles of reserve land through fraud and coercion on the prairies alone.” These losses and other government policies in the nineteenth century and early 20th century ensured that most reserve Indians would only be able to practice marginal subsistence agriculture.

In 1909 Oliver told the House of Commons that between 1896 and 1909 the Department had bought 725,517 acres from Indian bands and then it had sold it for $2,156,353. In 1911 to speed up this process Oliver introduced amendments to the Indian Act that gave the Department of Indian Affairs “even greater powers of coercion. The most controversial was section 49a, known as the Oliver Act, which permitted the removal of Indians from any reserve next to a town of eight thousand or more inhabitants.” This land went to Euro-Canadians and immigrants. Although Indians protested or agreed reluctantly to these land surrenders, Oliver’s actions had widespread support among Euro-Canadians.

The booklet “20th Century Canada” made no direct reference to the Aboriginal Peoples. Although they were out of sight they were not quite out of mind, and therefore it made an indirect reference to them by assuring prospective settlers that this was not a wild west. “By reason of the superior organization of Canadian justice,” it said, “the Canadian West affords every immigrant all the social security to which he has been accustomed at home.”

The hierarchical structure of the Canadian West was also evident in the way the land was being distributed to white male homesteaders while women were being denied land. In the United States thousands of women filed on homesteads and became independent land owners. Whereas in Canada patriarchal and paternalistic traditions led to the stipulation that only women with dependent children under 18 were allowed to homestead, and therefore only a minuscule number of women were able to claim homesteads. Frank Oliver showed his patriarchal colours when he insisted that “to admit [women] to the opportunities of the land-grant would make them [independent] of marriage.”

Although women were encouraged to come to Canada in other publications, the booklet “20th Century Canada” was written to appeal to male settlers. There was only one brief passage about women and it claimed that Canada was “a man’s country” because the labour “required for early settlement calls for men rather than women.” It went on to say that in 1905 there were 57,851 more males than females in Alberta and Saskatchewan so there was “an increasing demand for women’s help, and especially as servant girls.” In other words, the booklet was saying that women were welcome in the West if they stayed in their place, as helpmates and servants, in a patriarchal society.

AN ART NOUVEAU DESIGN

Although the booklet “20th Century Canada” claims it was written “for the guidance of intending settlers,” the Department’s real purpose was recruitment rather than guidance. It therefore took care to make sure its cover was as attractive as possible by making it colourful and beautiful, perhaps to counteract the prevailing image of Canada as a place of ice, snow, and cold. In addition to colour they used an Art Nouveau design. In favour during the 1890s and the early years of the twentieth century, Art Nouveau was part of what historian Asa Briggs refers to as “the so-called ‘new’ phenomena, from the ‘new woman’ to the ‘new unionism,’” which was part of the enthusiasm for new beginnings with the coming of the new century. “Exuberance” was “the very essence” of this ‘new’ art style. Although it had other names it was usually referred to by the French name it acquired from a shop opened in Paris in 1895 which was a centre for the “latest tendencies” called “L’Art Nouveau.” Art Nouveau featured complex linear patterns, curving and undulating lines, and floral motifs suggestive of the lily, convolvulus, violet, poppy or reeds. Its
detractors referred to it as “the noodle style,” “the eel style,” “the tapeworm style,” or “the yachting style.”

Art Nouveau had its roots in the designs William Morris did for books, carvings, wallpaper, metalwork, stained glass, and furniture. An English poet, artist, and socialist, Morris had begun to espouse a return to medieval design, crafts, and community life in the 1860s. Like others in the arts and crafts movement, which arose in reaction to changes brought about by the industrial revolution in England, Morris tried to get rid of the ‘clutter’ and ‘jumble’ of the early Victorian style. He stressed the importance of beauty, simplicity, and pride in well-crafted products, as a replacement for poorly designed, shoddy, mass-produced goods coming out of many nineteenth century factories. Morris believed factories were creating “tons and tons of unutterable rubbish.”

Art Nouveau was an international stylistic movement that drew its elegance and precision from Japanese prints and illuminated manuscripts. An “overall fashion,” its creators believed the barriers between ‘fine’ and ‘applied’ art should be broken down. Instances of Art Nouveau can be seen in the drawings, paintings, and posters of numerous artists including Aubrey Beardsley of England, Jesse M. King of Scotland, Edvard Munch of Norway, Gustav Klimt of Vienna, and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Paul Gauguin, and Czech-born Alphonse Mucha of France. It can also be seen in the work of the Spanish architect Antoni Gaudi, the Americans glassmaker Louis Comfort Tiffany and architect and glass designer Frank Lloyd Wright. Canadian J.E.H. MacDonald, a commercial artist for over 20 years, learned and practised Art Nouveau. A full-time painter from 1912 onward, his use of the style was to influence other members of the Group of Seven, the first Euro-Canadians to launch a distinctly Canadian art movement.

By 1900 Art Nouveau had a strong following among the fashionable elite. Newspapers, magazines, postcards, and booklets early in the twentieth century showed the profound effect Art Nouveau had on public taste in Britain, Europe, and North America. Although Art Nouveau foundered, when it began to be commercially exploited and artists turned to other styles, elements of it can be detected in art throughout the 20th century.
Canada's Department of the Interior was attempting to capitalize on the influence and popularity of Art Nouveau in its choice of a design for the cover of its 1905 booklet. The exuberance that was "the very essence" of Art Nouveau was well suited to the exuberant plans of the Department. On the front of the booklet the Art Nouveau design, the autumn colours, and the reproduction of two watercolour paintings, which idealized prairie life in order to attract settlers, were combined in a pleasing manner. However on the back of the Department booklet aesthetics gave way to pragmatism. The autumn colours of the flowing Art Nouveau design were at odds with the map, which was printed in primary colours with the countries in the British Empire in bright pink, a variant of the usual red. Nor did it fit with the box that announced that the booklet was "issued by direction of Hon. Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior" and the slogan "WESTERN CANADA - FREE 160 ACRES OF FARM LAND" in a stiff formal design. The bright pink Empire on the map reflected the beliefs of Canadian imperialists for whom imperial unity was very important. For them Canada's most important connection was with Britain, "the motherland" as the booklet referred to it. The land in Canada, the booklet proudly proclaimed, was "one third of the British Empire," a message which would appeal to prospective British settlers. In short, on the back of the booklet the way in which the imperialist message and Oliver's political advertising were inserted into the Art Nouveau design detracted from the beauty of the design.

FRANK OLIVER'S SOCIAL DARWINISM

Imperialist sentiment was linked to anglo-conformist ideas about ethnicity and race. As Frank Oliver's Edmonton Bulletin put it, "the ideal of the West is not only greatness, but greatness achieved under the British flag and stamped and moulded by the genius of race." Like the text of the booklet, the paintings on the front cover were an attempt to convince settlers of good "class and character" that they would have a prosperous life on the prairies. Oliver was a Social Darwinist, an ideology that many Canadians espoused at that time. Social Darwinism, which lent pseudo-scientific respectability to anglo-nobility and racism, ranked people of different ethnic and racial groups. It was believed that the Anglo-Celts were at the evolutionary pinnacle and the Blacks were at the bottom of the ladder. 'Nordic' people from Northern Europe were regarded as superior to other Europeans, some of whom were singled out with particular contempt, such as the Jews. In other words, it was an "ethnic pecking order," as historian Howard Palmer put it. Oliver vigorously promoted this "pecking order."

As a newspaper man Oliver had opposed the immigration of the Mormons. He had also objected to the arrival of the Chinese, the Ukrainians, the Doukhobors, or any other "Slavs." He claimed that these people knew "nothing of free institutions" and they would be "a drag on our civilization and progress." Like other Social Darwinists Oliver believed in 'nordic' superiority, so prior to the Great War he described a German immigrant as "a man of the dominant race, of untiring energy, of great foresight: he is a man of sterling honesty and reliability... of the highest character."

At the time Oliver took charge of the Department there was a strong reaction against oriental immigration in British Columbia and to the many eastern European peasants who were settling on the prairies in spite of the fact that, as the booklet itself points out, "during the twelve months ending June 30, 1905, there were 146,266 new settlers. Of these 43,543 came from the United States, and 65,359 from Great Britain and her colonies." During Oliver's era the Department moved away from Sifton's flexible open approach to eastern European immigrants and he attempted to marginalize the groups he disliked who were already here.
pRAIRS, NOT ONLY because of ethnicity but also because, as the booklet put it, “with their knowledge of the new world conditions they rarely make serious mistakes.”

The booklet portrayed the “good class of settlers” that Oliver wanted by quoting a Toronto paper which contended that

it is farmers, strong raw-boned farmers from Kansas, keen-eyed farmers from Iowa, quiet but observant farmers from Ontario, earnest though inexperienced farmers from the motherland — it is these men in their thousands whose daily toil and aggressive energy are moving the centre of Canada westward.

Newspapers in Saskatchewan give some indication of what the anglo-majority in the province thought in comparison to Oliver’s ideas and the ideas expressed in the pamphlet. Although they differed about the value of European immigration, which by 1905 was well-established, they agreed that Anglo-Canadians, who came mainly from the Manitoba and Ontario, were the most desirable settlers. They also valued Anglo-American settlers for their wealth and because they were seen as enterprising people but they were critical of American society, especially its ignorance of Canada. By 1911, at the end of Oliver’s term as the Minister of the Interior, 14.1% of the population of the province was of American birth and 50.5% were Canadian born, and 13.4 were from eastern Europe. Many of the Canadian born had come directly from Ontario but more had come from Manitoba, some of whom had originally been from Ontario.

During Oliver’s term as the Minister of the Interior he also worked closely with bureaucrats in the Bureau of Immigration, which was then part of the Department of the Interior, to rid Canada of immigrants who were judged to be unsuitable. Modern practices of deportation were introduced and the Bureau adopted a more aggressive approach to deportation than Sifton’s approach. With Oliver in charge an Immigration Act was passed in 1906 and deportations became more systematic and more numerous.

In May of 1910 an even more restrictive Immigration Act, designed by Oliver and officials in the Bureau of Immigration, made it even easier to deport immigrants.

Even though the Leader newspaper in Regina supported the Liberals it was one of the critics of Oliver’s slant on immigration. In July, shortly after the 1910 changes to the Immigration Act, it said that those who condemn the officials who had encouraged Ukrainians, and “other people of foreign nationality” to immigrate to Canada lose sight of the fact that in very large measure the rapid development of this Western country during the past ten or twelve years has largely been made because of these hardworking people... Are we to do without these works necessary to our continuing progress and prosperity or shall we welcome those who are ready and willing having brought into our midst what some people are pleased to regard as an undesirable class? Of the two evils which is greater — the stopping or rather retarding of our growth as a nation...or the influx of some tens of thousands of labourers from other lands, lower in the plane of civilization, uneducated and possibly not quite so moral as ourselves but who, with our boasted superiority, we should be able to educate and uplift? This interpretation, with its mixture of anglo-bigotry and tolerance, was closer to Sifton’s flexible approach to immigration than it was to Oliver’s approach.

Oliver’s attitude toward ‘Slavs’ is well illustrated by his handling of the Doukhobors, Russian peasants who were good farmers. While other opponents of slavic immigrants did not necessarily see Doukhobors as representative of slavic immigration, they did use the hostility Canadians had toward Doukhobors as a way to increase the opposition to slavic immigration as a whole. In 1899, during Sifton’s term as the Minister, 7,400 Doukhobors settled on good land in three blocs near Kamsack and Buchanan, Blaine Lake and Langham, and Pelly in present-day Saskatchewan. They constructed 61 collective agricultural villages, farmed with communal labour, and had collective ownership of land. Theirs was the largest communal experiment in North America at that time. Having been persecuted in Russia for their pacifism, they settled in Canada because the Government promised them that they could have exemptions from military
service, live in bloc settlements, and have religious freedom in the schools. The Doukhobors objected to the oath of allegiance, which they were supposed to take in order to get final title to their land, because they were afraid it would lead to military service. They also objected to the registration of births, deaths, and marriages and patenting of individual homesteads. There was considerable hostility in Canada toward the Doukhobors because of their Slavic origins, their Russian language, their pacifism, and their communal way of life based on their religious beliefs.\(^3\)

When Oliver, who had criticized the government’s decisions about bloc settlements, became the Minister he took advantage of the hostility toward the Doukhobors.\(^4\) He immediately began to conduct a series of investigations into the Doukhobor practice of cultivating land communally. In the summer of 1905 C.W. Speers, a general colonization agent, was appointed by Oliver as his investigator. He was followed in October by a second investigator whose recommendations were not severe enough to suit Oliver. So he ordered a third investigation in August of 1906 by the Reverend John McDougall, a fellow Albertan. McDougall’s report was more to Oliver’s liking, so on this basis he proceeded with a “drastic re-interpretation” of Sifton’s earlier promises to the Doukhobors.\(^5\)

Revising Sifton’s rulings Oliver began to require that they swear an oath of allegiance and that they take individual homesteads rather than continue their pattern of reserved blocs. Those who refused were evicted by the Government. In 1907 258,000 acres, two-thirds of their improved land, reverted to the Crown and was sold in public auction, a loss for the Doukhobors of around eleven million dollars in assets. This loss of 1605 homesteads led to division among the Doukhobors about how to deal with the Government’s demands. Dispirited and discouraged, they split into three groups. Some tried to set up smaller reserves but Oliver discouraged them. One third of the Doukhobors opted for individual homesteads and they stayed in Saskatchewan. Between 1908 and 1912 the largest group, of around 5,000 people, went to British Columbia where they bought private property and therefore avoided the oath of allegiance.\(^6\)

According to John Mavor, who taught at the University of Toronto and had helped the Doukhobors negotiate the terms of their entry into Canada, the Government had committed “a breach of faith.”\(^7\) However, living during a period when many Anglo-Canadians were actively promoting anglo-conformity, Oliver could safely ignore Mavor.\(^8\) Clearly, the pioneer community needed his skills, energy, and dedication. In addition to this he was no threat “because he was one man.” However, this benign approach was not sustained when hundreds of Afro-Americans began to arrive on the prairies.\(^9\)

Racial awareness was at its height in Canada between 1900 and 1920 when Afro-Americans were in bad straits. They were fleeing increasingly rigid social structures in the southern states and they were on the move seeking other economic opportunities. Some moved to the American West but land was scarce and costly. The Canadian government was advertising for immigrants and Afro-Americans mistakenly thought they would be welcome in Canada.\(^9\) They were attracted to Canada because they thought of it as a land of refuge.\(^9\) Land was selling in Saskatchewan for two dollars an acre as compared to fifty dollars in the Dakotas, so it was economically advantageous to move to the new province. When Oklahoma, which had been Indian Territory until 1908, became a state it
enacted restrictive legislation, the Ku Klux Klan came to dominate the state, and the Afro-Americans were threatened with the possibility of losing their voting rights. Therefore Oklahoma Blacks were particularly interested in immigrating to Canada.\textsuperscript{36} In October of 1909 the first group of them arrived in Saskatchewan. Blacks were among the founders of Maidstone and Wilkie. Others settled in Lloydminster or found homes elsewhere in Saskatchewan but they were less successful in Alberta, Oliver's province.\textsuperscript{97}

Oliver took action to stem the flow of the Oklahoma Blacks when they began to arrive in Alberta. Since there was no law to ban black immigration he appointed exclusion officers to the Bureau of Immigration.\textsuperscript{98} Using "diplomatic racism" he also recommended the government pass an order-in-council to stop more from coming. An order was passed prohibiting immigration by those "belonging to the Negro race" since they were "deemed unsuitable to the climate and requirements of Canada." When the order-in-council was rescinded Oliver and authorities in the Bureau of Immigration sent an Afro-American doctor from Chicago to Oklahoma to work with an agent they had sent earlier that year. His influence and negative reports from Afro-American immigrants from Oklahoma already in Canada soon stemmed the flow of Afro-Americans to the West.\textsuperscript{99} In 1911 J. Bruce Walker, who was the Dominion Commissioner of Immigration in Winnipeg, explained the situation succinctly. The Canadian government, he reported, "was doing all in its power, through a policy of persuasion, to keep negroes out of Western Canada."\textsuperscript{100}

The racism of immigration policy while Oliver was the Minister in charge of the Bureau of Immigration was also evident in the treatment of the Chinese and other immigrants from Asia who were targets of "much of the new century's exclusiveness."\textsuperscript{101} During his term as the Minister he maintained the previously legislated federal head tax on Chinese immigrants, which had been raised to $8500 in 1903. It slowed the immigration of Chinese men and made it impossible for most Chinese men to bring their wives and children to Canada. While Oliver was the Minister there were 3,578 Chinese men for every Chinese woman in Canada, which caused tremendous hardship for the Chinese men in Canada and for their families in China.\textsuperscript{102}

Oliver summed up his ideas about immigration by boasting that, compared to Sifton’s approach, his was "restrictive, exclusive, and selective."\textsuperscript{103} In short, Oliver espoused ethnic, racial, gender, and class hierarchies of power that subordinated other prairie people to upper- and middle-class Anglo-Celtic men like himself.\textsuperscript{104}

**APPEALING TO SETTLERS OF A GOOD “CLASS AND CHARACTER”**

Frank Oliver was undoubtedly pleased with the idealized depiction of the settlers in the paintings on the cover of the 1905 booklet “20th Century Canada.” The homesteader milking the cow in his vest and shirt sleeves, the woman with a basket on her arm who is standing dutifully behind him, and their two little children were neither oriental, black, nor from the First Nations. Clearly they were not the eastern European peasants Sifton had encouraged to come to the West. From Oliver's point-of-view the settlers of good "class and character" who were depicted in these two paintings would naturally thrive on the prairies. Within 20 years, the pamphlet implied, they would progress from the humble house and the work they were doing in the first painting to the leisurely life and the grand frame house, with flowering vines entwined around its pillars, shown in the second painting.\textsuperscript{105}

The 1905 booklet included several maps of different regions of Canada and it described the resources and the development in all the provinces of Canada, however the emphasis was on the prairie provinces. It described the prairies in glowing terms, with no mention of the wind, the blizzards, the mosquitoes, the prairie fires, the crowded little sod shacks, the loneliness and despair of many homesteaders, the outbreaks of typhoid fever, the high maternal and infant mortality, or the lack of health care services. Life on the rural prairies was idyllic according to this propaganda.\textsuperscript{106}

In a long section about Saskatchewan the booklet claimed that “the tide of immigration” to the province “has been increasing year by year as the country has become better known.” The booklet painted a utopian picture of Saskatchewan. In this prairie paradise the climate was “not only healthful but bracing,” anyone could find “a plentiful supply of good water,” there were forests in the northern part of the province that insured “an ample supply of cheap fuel and building material,” in “many instances” farmers had “paid for their holding out of a single crop,” and “the rich lands of Saskatchewan” were “suddenly...valuable but they are still to be had at low prices.”\textsuperscript{107} These lies and distortions were mixed with some truthful passages such as those that explained that central Saskatchewan was the area of the province where homesteaders were settling at that time. The areas where there were rail lines, in the southern and the eastern part of the province and around North Battleford and Prince
Albert, already had settlers and numerous towns and villages. However the area southwest of Saskatoon to the Alberta border was almost blank on the map of Saskatchewan in the booklet.\(^{108}\)

**SETTLERS IN THE GOOSE LAKE COUNTRY**

The ‘Goose Lake Country,’ as the area southwest of Saskatoon was called, was beginning to attract settlers.\(^{109}\) Although Goose Lake is marked on the map in the booklet, neither the text of the booklet nor the map mentioned the ‘Goose Lake Country’ specifically. However many Saskatchewan bound settlers who read immigration propaganda like this booklet, went to the ‘Goose Lake Country’ between Saskatoon and present day Rosetown. They travelled to Saskatoon by rail and claimed homesteads at the Dominion Lands Office in the City. They bought oxen, farm equipment, and other expensive supplies in Saskatoon, or “Soak-it-to-’em” as one caustic settler dubbed it, and then headed out to the ‘Goose Lake Country.’ Because there was no rail line into the area until 1909 they travelled along the ‘Old Bone Trail,’ so called because the people of the First Nations and the Métis had hauled buffalo bones into Saskatoon along the Trail to be sold and shipped out on the railway to be ground up and used as fertilizer and in other products.\(^{110}\)

A Saskatoon journalist reported that on ‘the Old Bone Trail’ between 1904 and 1905

the traffic of incoming settlers was so steady and continuous that it was not an uncommon sight to see an almost unbroken line of wagons and vehicles of all kinds and degrees of richness strung out in a long snakelike caravan many miles in length. At night around every slough the campfires blazed while in the stopping houses brave men and women, weary but full of hope, rested on the way to the land which promised comfort and prosperity.\(^{111}\)

One farmer reported in 1906 “that about forty teams a day on an average passed his place on the journey southwest.”\(^{112}\) As an English settler in the Goose Lake Country later recalled

for thousands of us it was such an entirely new experience. We were on our way to the Golden West — an almost fabulous land — if we were to believe the immigration literature scattered up and down the Old Country.\(^{113}\)

Contrary to what the immigration propaganda from the Department of the Interior claimed about the idyllic life the settlers would have in Saskatchewan, when they arrived they found that it was definitely not a “Golden West.”\(^{114}\) Life in new districts in Saskatchewan was very difficult. As a Welsh settler in the

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*Goose Lake Country settlers, Violet and John McNaughton, ca. 1910.*
Goose Lake Country later recalled, he "felt very low" on his homestead.

This was so unlike what we had imagined back in Wales. We had visualized a green country with hills around, and happy people as neighbours — no doubt a naive outlook ... but one common to many people emigrating at the time... There was something so impersonal about this prairie, something that shattered any hope of feeling attached to it, or ever building a home on it.\textsuperscript{115}

Life in the new districts was so bad that it spawned agrarian radicals and reformers who would challenge patriarchal, paternalistic elites in Saskatchewan and in Canada, such as Frank Oliver and others in the federal and provincial governments, in an attempt to improve life in rural Saskatchewan.\textsuperscript{116} Many settlers from the 'Goose Lake Country' waged this battle for decades along with other Saskatchewan settlers who were radicalized by the suffering they experienced during the settlement period.\textsuperscript{117}

**CONCLUSION**

Immigration propaganda, which was very persuasive when dressed up in an appealing Art Nouveau design, helped to fill Saskatchewan with Euro-Canadians and immigrants. Whether they were from groups who were encouraged to come or those who were discouraged from coming, they soon vastly outnumbered the Aboriginal Peoples. The people of the First Nations and the Métis were marginalized and kept in their place, low in the hierarchies of power on the prairies, by Frank Oliver and other members of the elites.

Using the concept of colonization is one way to analyze immigration propaganda and the peoples of Saskatchewan. Frank Oliver, other politicians such as Sifton, the bureaucrats with whom Oliver worked, and Canadians who made huge profits through the subjugation of the Aboriginal Peoples were directing the colonization of the West, or 'the opening of the West' as some historians put it. They can be seen as "colonizers" who were keeping the Aboriginal Peoples in their places as "colonized" peoples, and keeping out all but a few Asians and people of African descent.\textsuperscript{118}

Award-winning Métis historian Olive Dickason and her co-author David Long argue convincingly that Canadian colonialism was an extension of "European colonialism," which represented an "oppressive vision imposed on Aboriginal People living in Canada."\textsuperscript{119}

The white settlers flooding into Saskatchewan can be seen as "small colonizers," to use Albert Memmi's term.\textsuperscript{120} That is to say, on the one hand they profited because they had access to cheap land. They were thereby complicit in the subjugation of the Aboriginal Peoples, whether they understood it clearly or not. On the other hand they suffered because the West was structured for the benefit of the elites rather than for the settlers.\textsuperscript{121}

The settlers in Saskatchewan suffered, in part, because immigration propaganda had misled many of them. Most of them were "plain common people," as one settler from the Goose Lake Country described them.\textsuperscript{122} Rather than finding the utopia depicted in propaganda, such as the booklet "20th Century Canada," when they arrived they were faced with the harsh realities of life on the rural prairies. This made them increasingly sceptical about such propaganda, especially after the First World War.\textsuperscript{123} Their disappointment pushed them to co-operate with one another and to organize socially, economically, and politically in an attempt to overcome the difficulties of pioneering.\textsuperscript{124} Over the decades stories about the efforts of the "plain common people" who settled in the province during this period, including the few black and Asian people who managed to get in, and the struggles of the Aboriginal Peoples to survive during this period were to inspire their descendants and numerous Saskatchewan activists in movements for social justice.\textsuperscript{125}

**NOTES:**

1. I would like to thank my Mother, Mabel Taylor, who was born in southern Alberta in conditions similar to those in which the settlers lived in the Goose Lake Country in central Saskatchewan. She taught me a great deal about the homestead period and she encouraged me while I was writing this article. I would also like to thank Alan Anderson, Marilyn Barber, Alvin Finkel, D'Arcy Hande and Cecil King for reading earlier versions of this article and making helpful comments and suggestions. I am also grateful to D'Arcy for suggesting that I look at the pamphlets of the Department of the Interior during my search for a historical design for our cover. I chose this particular pamphlet because its cover is attractive, it could be adapted for the cover of this journal, and it is an important part of the history of the province.

2. Saskatchewan Archives Board (hereafter SAB), pamphlet G 86.23, "20th Century Canada," Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1905.\textsuperscript{105} (hereafter referred to as "20th Century Canada"). Major Ernest J. Chambers, ed. Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1912 (Ottawa: Ernest J. Chambers, 1912), 177. For examples of other colourful pamphlets that were published while Frank Oliver was the Minister of the Interior see Ted Reghr, Remembering Saskatchewan — A History of Rural Saskatchewan (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Extension Division, 1979), 41.

3. I would like to thank Alvin Finkel for clarifying my thoughts on the questions of exclusion and marginalization.


12. Frank Oliver, House of Commons Debates, 1903.

13. William Janzen, Limits on Liberty — The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 58. For examples of Sifton’s flexibility with regard to Mennonites and Doukhobors see ibid., 29-45.


18. James S. Frierdes argues convincingly that although it has limitations, the concept of colonization is very useful. James S. Frierdes, Aboriginal Peoples in Canada — Contemporary Conflicts 5th ed. (Saskatoon: Praca Hall Allen and Bacon Canada, 1998), 2-7.


20. Walter Hildebrandt, Views from Fort Battleford — Constructed Visions of an Anglo-Canadian West (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1994), 111. See also Oliver Patrick Dickson, “Towards a Larger View of Canada’s History: The Native Factor,” in Visions of the Heart, 7-19.


23. See a copy of the Indian Act in De Brou and Waizer, Documenting Canada, 100.


37. Carter, Lost Harvesets, 245.

39. “20th Century Canada.”


45. “20th Century Canada.” Friesen, The Canadian Pioneers 139. I am grateful to Marilyn Barber, who has done a great deal of research on immigration, for suggesting there was perhaps a link between images of ice, snow, and cold and images of beauty and colour. See for example Marilyn Barber, “The Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Teachers,” in The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970 ed. Barry Ferguson (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1991), 154-166; Marilyn Barber, “Canadizing Through the Schools of the Prairie Provinces Before World War II: The Attitude and Aims of the English-Speaking Majority,” in Ethnic Canadians — Culture and Education ed. Martin L. Kovaas (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1978), 281-294; and Barber, “Immigrant Domestic Servants in Canada.”


47. Selz, Art Nouveau Paintings, 1.


52. Quoted in Masini, Art Nouveau, 25.


54. Masini, Art Nouveau, 7, 35.


57. Masini, Art Nouveau, 52.


60. Selz, Art Nouveau Paintings, 1.


62. “20th Century Canada.”

63. Quoted in Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice 23.

64. “20th Century Canada.” Frank Oliver, House of Commons Debates, 1903.


68. Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice, 27. Later, during the Great War, the Germans were to sink from this vaunted position to become the most “undesirable” people in the West. Ibid., 47.

69. “20th Century Canada.” Brown and Cook, A Nation Transformed, 63-69. Anderson and Fridettes report that the majority of the settlers in the West were British, French, German-speaking groups, Slavs, and Scandinavians. Alan B. Anderson and James S. Fridettes, Ethnicity in Canada — Theoretical Perspectives (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), 134. For statistics on the ethnic origin of immigrants during this period see Ibid., 136-137.


71. Brown and Cook, A Nation Transformed, 68.

72. “20th Century Canada.”

73. “20th Century Canada.”


77. Roberts, Whence They Came, 12, 57.

78. Roberts, Whence They Came, 13-18.


80. Leader, Regina, 19 July 1910.
81. Widdis, With Scarcely a Ripple, 306. Archer, Saskatchewan A History, 115. David E. Smith, Prairic Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan 1905-1971 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 9, 21, 24. Christine MacDonald, Historical Directory of Newspapers, 1878-1983 (Regina and Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Archives Board, 1984), 61. The Regina Leader supported the Liberals. The editor in 1910 was William Franklin Kerr, who had been hired by Walter Scott when he owned the paper from 1895 to 1906. Scott, the Liberal Premier of Saskatchewan, was closely associated with Sifton. I would like to thank Gordon Barnhart for discussing this with me confirming my impression that the paper was in sympathy with Sifton.

82. I am grateful to Marilyn Barber for pointing out this distinction between Oliver and other opponents of slavie immigration.


84. The Edmonton Journal 24 October 1898.

85. Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 48, 300.


88. Howard Palmer argues that the attitude of Anglo-Canadians toward immigrants in the twentieth century can be divided into four periods: first, the period up to 1920 which he sees as "the settlement period and the predominance of anglo-conformity; second, the 1920s and the emergence of "melting pot" ideas; third, the thirties when immigrant was cut severely; and fourth, the period after the second World War in which the idea of multiculturalism emerged. Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian View of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in Readings in Canadian History — Post-confederation, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Donald R. Smith, 4th ed. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1994), 143-161. For a study of anglo-conformity in Saskatchewan see Hildebrandt, Voices from Fort Battleford — Constructed Visions of an Anglo-Canadian West.

89. Janzen, Limits on Liberty, 57.


94. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 300. Widdis, With Scarcely a Ripple, 290-293.

95. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 300.


100. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 311.


103. Brown and Cook, A Nation Transformed 68.

104. For a discussion of the way in which gender, class and racial hierarchies of power intersect see Catherine Hall's introduction to White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History (New York: Routledge, 1992), 1-40.

105. Frank Oliver, House of Commons Debates, 1903. "20th Century Canada."


107. "20th Century Canada."

108. "20th Century Canada."


111. Saskatchewan Phoenix 1909. Quoted in C. Howard Shillingford, Historic Land Trails of Saskatchewan (West Vancouver: Earth Publications, 1985), 143. Shillingford does not give the day or the month of publication.

112. Saskatchewan Phoenix 13 June 1906.


115. Davies and Vaughan, Beyond the Old Bone Trail, 35.

116. For a discussion of the social and political response of pioneers to harsh the realities of the prairies see Francis, Images of the West, 156-160; Archer, Saskatchewan A History 190; and Taylor, "Ground for Common Action," 196-200, 325-350. For a description of the dire conditions in the Goose Lake Country and the way they radicalized Violet McNaughton, a settler who arrived in 1909, see Taylor, "Ground for Common Action," 117-242.

117. For details of some of concerns of these radicals and reformers in the Goose Lake Country see SAB, McNaughton Papers A1 E72, McNaughton, "The Prairie Woman," [1913]; A1 E24(1), Minute Book of the Hillview Women's Auxiliary GGA, minutes from 19 March 1913 to 17 July 1915 and the Minute Book of the Hillview WGGA, minutes from 15 April 1916 to 27 November 1916; Hillview Grain Growers' Association Minute Book, minutes from 24 December 1910 to 10 January 1914. See also Harris Museum, Hillview GGA Minute Book, minutes from 24 January 1914 to 20 November 1926. The reformers and radicals from the Goose Lake Country included Evan Davies, Isaac Fiddler, Delmarck Jackson, Violet and John McNaughton, and Mabel Wilson. Davies and Vaughan, Beyond the Old Bone Trail, SAB, R-E 2991, Mrs. Mabel Wilson Hathorne, "My Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Prairie Life," Taylor, "Ground for Common Action." See also Murray Knuttia, "That Man Partridge" — E.A. Partridge, His Thoughts and Times (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994).

118. For an explanation of the idea of the colonizers, the small colonizers, and the colonized see Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized, 3-11.
119. Long and Dickason, Visions of the Heart, 1. See also Dickason’s account of this period in the Canadian West in her award winning book Canada’s First Nations, 273-238.

120. Menmi, The Coloniser and the Colonised, 10-11.


122. The Western Producer 6 November 1924. A small minority of settlers who came to the prairies were from the privileged classes. For an analysis of these settlers see Lewis G. Thomas, “Privileged Settlers,” in rancher’s legacy — Alberta Essays by Lewis G. Thomas ed. Patrick A. Dunne (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986), 153-168.

123. Francis, Images of the West, 156-160.


The Producer’ in 1927

“ON CROCUS HILL – There is a spot on our farm known as Crocus Hill. The children named it years ago when the homestead was a house of dreams. One of my perennial pleasures is to see on the hillside, hard on the heels of vanishing snow drifts, the delicate pale lilac of the first pasque-flower. It is one of life’s compensations, this little gem of ‘purest ray supreme.’”

Beta Ray, The Western Producer, 14 April 1927

“CONAN DOYLE KILLS SHERLOCK HOLMES – Sherlock Holmes is to end his memoirs at last and forever, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, his creator says.”

The Western Producer, 12 May 1927

“What are you doing to increase the circulation of The Western Producer in your district? Read the advertisement on page 8 last week on ‘The Power of the Press.’ Public opinion is largely moulded by the press. The late Victor Stinnes who controlled most of the German press stated boastfully ‘the people will think what I want them to think.’ Put The Western Producer in the hands of your neighbour.”

The Western Producer, 4 August 1927

“A Canadian hen holds the world’s record for laying 351 eggs in 365 days. Going some, eh?”

The Western Producer, 12 May 1927

“A Nation’s Health is A Nation’s Wealth”

The Western Producer, 12 May 1927

“A CONSULTATIVE CLINIC – What is it? A Consultative Clinic is a place where any person may have a consultation and examination by expert physicians using the most modern appliances of medical science…. No person should be allowed to suffer through lack of receiving the very best medical and surgical skill possible. But it is a well known fact that many men and women and children do suffer because of their financial positions…. It is our opinion that every citizen of the province should have the right to the very best medical and surgical skill of the twentieth century. A free Consultative Clinic will be an important step towards that end.”

The Western Producer, 19 May 1927

“TAKES OATH: Eamonn de Valera, leader of the Fianna Fail, who took the oath of allegiance entered the Dail of the Irish Free State [later the Republic of Ireland] last Friday for the first time. His 44 Republican deputies took their seats the same day.
Deemed Unsuitable: Blacks From Oklahoma Move to the Canadian Prairies in Search of Equality in the Early 20th Century Only to Find Racism in their New Home

This book deals with the migration from the United States to the plains of Canada of something over a thousand black men, women, and children between 1909 and 1912. It discusses their origins, the factors that led them to decide to leave the plains states (especially Oklahoma) in the United States, their movement, their reception, and their present position in Canadian society. The writing, analysis, and research base suggest that the book is intended largely for a popular audience and for use in secondary schools, but there is much here of interest to more advanced readers and, to scholars of immigration, the Canadian West, and African American/African Canadian history broadly.

The author is the Director of the Diefenbaker Canada Centre at the University of Saskatchewan. For this work he has received assistance from the Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth, the Canadian Plains Research Center of the University of Regina, and (for publication) the Multicultural Program of the Department of Canadian Heritage. There is, then, an obligation within the work to make it accessible to a broad public and, perhaps, to give it a didactic cast. The opening lines to the “Introduction” make it clear that this is history with a message: “North America has a colour problem. The problem is racism. The colour is white.” (p. 1). This reviewer in no way disagrees with this message, but no doubt many professional historians will question whether the conclusion should be placed in the text before the evidence.

As to evidence, Shepard presents an abundance. Black Americans were harassed and harassed in Oklahoma. With the coming of statehood, segregation became a legislative and not only a social reality there. Convinced that greater freedom and opportunity lay waiting for them in Canada, and from 1910 under the threat of losing their voting rights in Oklahoma, a substantial number of African Americans set out for Saskatchewan and Alberta. They were met with calculated and very direct “diplomatic racism” as Canadian officials, abetted by United States officials on occasion, sought to bar them, deter them, or brand them as unsuitable. The new settlers thus settled together rather than dispersing, in Maidstone and Eldon district, in Amber Valley, and elsewhere in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Shepard’s research is based on careful examination of a wide range of primary sources and consultation of all relevant secondary materials, except — it appears — for the National Archives in Washington. He has employed local newspapers, both in the United States and in Canada, to excellent effect. (One does not always instantly recognize an author, for Shepard is inconsistent between citing a writer by a single initial and last name, full initials, or full first names, and closer copy editing by his publisher would have made the bibliography more immediately useful to a neophyte.) Unhappily, few of the quotations or more startling statements are sourced, and there are neither foot nor endnotes, so that same neophyte will not easily discover some of the original statements.

Shepard is the leading scholar of black history on the Canadian prairies. He wrote his thesis on this subject, and first published his study of “diplomatic racism” in 1983, followed by at least four other research articles which, in reworked form, appear in Deemed Unsuitable. Some questions remain unasked and thus unanswered, especially about any attempt on the part of African Americans to establish themselves in urban settings after the 1920s, so Shepard has not exhausted the subject. He has provided a fine introduction to, and by far the fullest account of, the movement from Oklahoma to Saskatchewan and Alberta that we have. One hopes that he will continue his exploration of African Canadian history from the Depression into the age of the man his post honours, John Diefenbaker, the Canadian Prime Minister who was, at least in some measure, a catalyst for the Commonwealth’s attack, mild as it proved to be, on apartheid in South Africa.

Robin W. Winks Chairman, Department of History Yale University
T.A. Crerar: A Political Life

Political history has become a rarity in Canada. Other than the work of popular historians (who still seem to realize that there is a market for biography), very little political history is being published. Instead academic historians remain caught up in the many varied directions offered by social history. The admirable opening of "new" fields has unfortunately included a backlash against the "old" ones, and political history (or the history of dead white males as it is labelled) is certainly one of these. This is unfortunate as J.E. Rea, professor of history at the University of Manitoba, makes evident with the long-awaited biography of T.A. Crerar.

One of the first objectives of political biographers is to explain the development of their subject's political thinking:

From his Scots inheritance and his rural Manitoba upbringing, Crerar derived his life-long commitment to the sturdy liberal values of independence, self-reliance, thrift, and voluntary association. Individuals, freely associated in cooperative action, could look after themselves much better than any government could. In Crerar's view, to surrender one's independence in return for security would, in the long run, jeopardize both (p. vii).

Ed Rea argues that Crerar embraced "Gladstonian Liberalism," a political faith that never wavered throughout his long career. When he retired from the Senate in 1966 at the age of ninety, Crerar was still advocating the same principles, despite the fact that he was perceived as a "throwback" from a distant past. He believed government had created "a culture of dependence ... that was undermining the values of the early part of the century and making clients and supplicants of Canadians and their institutions.... [H]e greatly feared that his country had lost its way" (p. 3).

But a consistent ideology did not make Crerar a "consistent partisan." As Rea points out, his political thinking was originally shaped by "the philosophy of cooperation and the economic needs of the grain growers" (p. 27). His willingness to turn away from the Liberal party in search of alternatives was a crucial facet in shaping his career.

A Political Life offers a detailed but readable discussion of Crerar's first love — the grain trade. Politics and the grain trade were inseparable in western Canada, and the combination of the two often divided the prairie region into distinct camps. Debate focused around such key issues as cooperatives, pools, and boards, and hinged on such marketing questions as the voluntary or compulsory involvement of producers, as well as the role of government. The period of Crerar's life witnessed major shifts in Canada's handling of these issues, and he was always at the centre of each development. As president of the Grain Grower's Grain Company (GGGC) and subsequent founding president of its successor, the United Grain Growers (UGG), he was instrumental in the entry of cooperatives to allow grain producers some say in controlling their industry. The objective was a "completely farmer-owned system of grain delivery" (p. 20).

Crerar championed the concerns of the grain farmer but this did not mean he had the support of the entire industry. Regional rivalries complicated the situation, and he waged a life-long battle with the Saskatchewan interests. The Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company (SCEC) balked at perceived attempts to control the trade from Winnipeg via the Grain Exchange and instead advanced the cause of wheat boards, pools, and compulsory marketing.

The farmers of western Canada could, however, agree on one thing — the need for more influence in Ottawa. Rea provides the reader with a distinctly western angle on the threat to national unity emerging during the First World War. Crerar joined the majority of western Liberals in supporting Union government in the name of a united war effort: "It all seemed so simple then to most westerners. National government and conscription were patriotic, sensible, and fair methods to meet the gravest of challenges" (p. 4). But as Rea correctly points out, the reaction of Prairie Liberals was more complicated. Crerar's group was already moving towards the notion of a western pressure group and was determined to thwart the efforts of the reviving French-Canadian nationalists led by Henri Bourassa, as well as the reactionary Montreal group of Liberals that seemed intent on controlling Laurier's party. Rea points to the antagonism that existed between Quebec and the West. These regions were the twin bastions of Liberal strength in the nation but their interests could not have been more different.

Crerar resigned in 1919 over the tariff issue and was instrumental in the creation of the western-based Progressive party. He clung to "agrarian values" and was convinced there was a "wicked triumvirate" out to exploit western Canada, consisting of the banks, the railways, and the manufacturing interests of central Canada (p. 28). The Progressives would smash the Canadian two-party system in 1921 but they would fail to survive as a viable third party. Too many divisions...
separated farmers across the Prairies. This time the division was mainly between Alberta and Manitoba, and Rea offers Crerar’s perspective on his dispute with the leader of the Alberta group, Henry Wise Wood, and his ultimate disillusionment with the Progressive experiment.

The book also offers an intriguing glimpse into the power structure of Winnipeg through a discussion of what was commonly called the “Sanhedrin.” This close-knit group of friends consisted of the most influential men in the Manitoba capital — businessmen, mayors, newspaper editors, lawyers, and politicians. They met often at the city’s elite social clubs to lunch and discuss the political and economic issues of the day. T.A. Crerar was their “political expression” (p. 32).

Another interesting facet of the biography is the story of Crerar’s work with the department of Mines and Resources created in 1935. The minister placed a great deal of emphasis on mining development at a time when the wealth of northern Manitoba was emerging: “He threw himself into this aspect of his portfolio with the zeal of the recently converted, sometimes to the neglect of his other obligations” (p. 178).

Of course, the minister’s passions were personal as well. Crerar’s close friend and correspondent, Kirk Cameron, had first interested him in the potential value of mining stocks. The record of the gold industry during the Depression, at a time when agriculture was in ruins, was enough impetus for Crerar. As far as he was concerned, the path out of the Depression led through the North.

Crerar’s new portfolio also included immigration, and here Rea must tread carefully in order to explain Canada’s embarrassing record in dealing with Jewish immigrants before and during the Second World War. He must also explain Crerar’s role in the situation. An attempt is made to set out the context for this regrettable record, so at least the decisions can be better understood. The doors to Canada were closed during the Depression because the topic of Jewish immigration in Canada (and particularly Quebec) was politically unfavorable. According to Rea, Crerar tried, despite opposition, to have more Jews admitted: “Given all his commitments, Crerar could charge the brick wall of opposition to Jewish immigration only so many times. And he did” (p. 186). But as Rea admits, this context explains the decisions taken but it cannot justify them: “It was, for Canadians, a collective failure” (p. 184-5).

The major threat to national unity during the Second World War appeared again in the form of conscription. As with the Jewish immigration issue, Rea works to set the record straight regarding Crerar’s previously misunderstood involvement. He supported the cabinet’s stance in 1942 during the plebiscite on conscription. However, Crerar threatened to resign in 1944 after Colonel J.L. Ralston, the Minister of National Defence, had been sacked and Prime Minister King was hesitating about sending the “zombies,” who had been conscripted for home defence, to fight overseas. According to Rea, this disagreement between Crerar and the prime minister nearly cost the minister his desired Senate seat.

By 1945 “T.A.” was ushered off to the Senate where he continued to rail against the universality of social programs: “It simply made no sense to him to have the federal government give money to people who did not need it and were quite capable of providing for their own requirements, and then taxing it back” (p. 6). For the next twenty-one years he attacked governments (mainly Liberal) for continuing this trend.

During this time, the old veteran made some insightful observations regarding the future direction of Canadian politics. The state of the Liberal party on the Prairies worried Crerar and he was disappointed with the lack of clear identity in both the Conservative or the Liberal parties. “The basic difficulty in our political system today,” he argued, is that “there are no sharp distinctions between our main political parties. This is not healthy ... and has a corrosive influence on public opinion. No free system of government can endure with a public that becomes politically lethargic or indifferent.” (p. 251).

The Prairie region wielded considerable influence during the interwar years and Rea does well to make this point. For years national policy had centred on western development and the political leaders of the day in Ottawa were forced to deal with the concerns of the area as well as its powerful spokesmen, such as Thomas Crerar. The biography presents him as a champion of western interests and the reader will leave the book with a clear notion of the major western concerns — the tariff, the grain trade, and the railways. Placed alongside Norman Ward and David Smith’s work on Jimmy Gardiner, Relentless Liberal, Rea’s biography makes a substantial contribution to the history of the oft-governing Liberal party on the Prairies. As one would expect, T.A. Crerar: A Political Life offers a distinctly “Manitoba” perspective to the scene (just as the biography of Gardiner offers a “Saskatchewan” perspective) and allows insight into the complex relationship among provincial, regional, and national politics in Canada.

Robert Wardhaugh
University of Manitoba
The Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society (SHFS) has been operating hosted motorcoach tours to points of heritage interest both within Saskatchewan and our neighbours since 1982. Again this year the SHFS is offering to the general public a choice of four escorted, all inclusive, worry free motorcoach tours visiting some of our rich heritage sites. All four tours will pick up and drop off passengers in Regina and Saskatoon.

The first tour starts on Sunday June 20 when we leave for an exciting four day tour that will take us on a journey visiting the earliest euro-ethnic influences in Saskatchewan such as the sites of the 18th century trading posts along the Saskatchewan River and the mid-19th century Stanley Mission. Our overnight stopping points will be Melfort, La Ronge, and Waskesiu. In addition to visiting these early forts and missions, our side trips will include St. Peter's Cathedral in Muenster, the Homestead Heritage Forest, and a tour of Prince Albert.

On Friday July 9 our second junket will begin with a tour of points of interest in Saskatoon that relate to the Barr Colonists arrival in 1903. Then following the Colonists journey to the “Promise Land,” Lloydminster. Day 2 will see us leaving the Barr Colonists, as we proceed to view other sites including some of the early fur trading posts and enactment of the NWMP March West.

The third tour of the 1999 season will commence on Sunday August 1 and run for six days. The first day of this tour will be spent at the Annual Threshermen’s Festival in Yorkton and then we will go to Manitoba to learn about the perseverance and struggles of the early Ukrainian settlers and to see the home of Margaret Laurence, the region of the Icelandic settlers, and Ilecla Provincial Park. The tour will then wend its way back to Saskatchewan to visit the National Doukhobour Heritage Village in Veregin before we return to Regina and Saskatoon with a renewed perspective of our region’s multicultural nature.

The final 1999 History on the Road tour is a two day tour that will start on Saturday August 28, visiting two of the “planned communities” in Saskatchewan, Hamona and Cannington Manor. We will also enjoy the Qu’Appelle valley, the Fishing Lakes, the Motherwell Homestead and Crooked and Round Lakes. In Esterhazy we will visit the Kaposvar Historic Site Museum, a site dedicated to the first Hungarian colony in Saskatchewan.

Past SHFS motocouach tours have been widely acclaimed for the insightful and educational experiences they provided, along with, and from SHFS’s perspective not a minor consideration in our planning of these tours, a very enjoyable, pleasant, and relaxed trip. The comments by participants about the 1998 tours included: “Very easygoing and relaxing. Plenty of stops and lots of things to see and do” and “Very good. I was most impressed with the unique places at which we stopped. The organization was super. Thanks for a great trip.” For more information about the tours, please contact our 1999 Tour Coordinator Liz Tiefenbach. Call Liz at the SHFS’s office at 1860 Lorne Street, Regina, Sask. S4P 2L7. Our local telephone number is 780-9204, our toll free number is (800) 919-9437, and our fax is (306) 780-9489.
SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY

Quotations from the First Fifty Years

Selected by Joan Champ

“Desolate? Forbidding? There was never a country that in its good moments was more beautiful. Even in drouth or blizzard or dust storm it is the reverse of monotonous. You don’t get out of the wind, but you learn to lean against it. You don’t escape sky and sun, but wear them in your eyeballs and on your back. You become acutely aware of yourself. The world is very large, the sky even larger, and you are very small; but also the world is very flat and empty, and you are a challenging verticality, as sudden as an exclamation mark, as enigmatic as a question mark, in its flatness.”


“The Old Men of the Reserves are an institution. The fact that there used to be no written language among the Indians forced them to depend entirely on the memory for things of the far past, as well as for those of more recent date. Because of this, the accuracy of the memory of the old men of the race is surprising. The minutest details regarding events that took place in childhood are remembered, and it is most interesting to hear two or more old men comparing notes as to the surface markings and points of a horse which may have lived some forty or fifty years before.”

REV. CANON EDWARD AHENAKEW, “The Story of the Ahenakews,”

“A significant feature of twentieth century newspaper development in Canada has been the trend towards centralization and consolidation which has resulted in the appearance of more and more one-newspaper cities and the control of papers in several communities by press chains. In Saskatchewan, as in other provinces, these developments threatened the traditional partnership of press and party.... As loyal newspapers disappeared, and as the remaining dailies came to be controlled by a single group allied with the dominant Liberals, the opposition parties in the province, the Conservatives and the Progressives, found themselves without any means of regularly presenting their point of view to the public.”

Saskatchewan History

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